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To

PHILIP S. HENRY

Schoolfellow, Friend, and Fellow-Traveller,
This Sketch is affectionately inscribed

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CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE CONQUEST

LONDON, the chief city of the British Empire, has had a continuous history for nineteen hundred years. It was a Roman settlement in the days of the Emperor Claudius. Julius Caesar probably found there a British fortress, if only "nothing more than a thick wood fortified with a ditch and rampart." In the following pages an attempt will be made to sketch the story of the Jews of London.

It has become the fashion to deny the existence of any Jews in England before William the Conqueror, but there is no reason to follow such a fashion. After the Conquest, no doubt, the records are so numerous and convincing that our information about Jews who "came over with the Conqueror" is more detailed and vivid than what we know about even our own grandfathers in the days of the Georges. There is also, however, evidence of Jewish contact with Britain in Roman and Anglo-Saxon times which, though it may lack the precision of Norman records, is even to a lawyer overwhelming. King Solomon traded with Spain and perhaps Britain. The Prophet Ezekiel describes the oversea activities of the Phoenicians. The Irish, the Welsh and the Cornish men have not only preserved Scripture names to this very day, but their ancient Gaelic language contains strikingly close parallels to Hebrew. So much so, that, in 1827, the British and Foreign Bible Society distributed Hebrew Bibles among them as being nearest their vernacular. But it is not necessary to quote British Israel conjectures.

In the "Josippon," or Pseudo-Josephus, a treaty is set forth between Augustus and the Jews under Hyrcanus. "Be it known to you that Augustus Caesar sent, by the advice of his ally Antonius, throughout all the countries of his dominion, as far as beyond the Indian Sea, and as far as beyond the British territory, and commanded, in whatever place there be a man or woman of the Jewish race, servant or handmaiden, to set them free without any redemption money." Jewish calendars refer to this as "Augustus's edict in favor of the Jews in England C. E. 15." In the fourth century, Jerome tells how Jews were scattered all over the world and were to be found even in Britannia. It is recorded in the Midrash that a fourth century rabbi Berechiah (ben Hiyya the Priest) spoke of ships from Britannia having 365 ropes, each with a distinct name.[1]

In the seventh and eighth centuries, Archbishops of Canterbury and York (Theodore of Canterbury in 669 and Egbert of York about 750) promulgated laws prohibiting the sale of a Christian slave to a Jew, or the celebration of Mass in a place where Jews are buried, or the holding of intercourse with Jews during the Jewish festivals. Prynne suggests that these laws are spurious, but this is practically impossible. It may, of course, be that they are copied from the

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[1] Yalkut to Psalm 19 and to Ecclesiastes 1,5. In a parallel passage in the Midrash Rabbah, Carmania is substituted for Britannia.

Acts of Church Councils in other lands, where their applicability to Jewish residents was undoubted, but this is not likely.

The Venerable Bede, "the father of English learning," who died in 775, seems to have known some Hebrew, acquired perhaps from Jews resident in Mercia. Another Yorkshireman, Alewine, his disciple and friend, was also a Hebraist, as he shows in the edition of the Bible he prepared for Charlemagne.

Rabbi Joseph ha-Kohen chronicles that in 810 many Jewish fugitives from persecution in Germany found refuge in Spain and England.[2] In 833, Croyland Abbey is confirmed in the possession of all gifts by Christians "or by Jews," but the grant containing these words is of doubtful authenticity. Alfred's grandson, King Athelstan (925–940), is stated by the Chroniclers to have had the Bible translated into Anglo-Saxon from the original Hebrew, with the help of converted Jews. The wise King Canute, in his struggles for the conquest of England, was opposed by Edmund Ironside, whose chief supporters were the Londoners. It is, therefore, not unlikely that when, in 1016, he finally triumphed, he should have expelled the Jews from the Kingdom. Jews were probably at that date to be found in the capital. Basnage and Lindo are the authorities who record such an expulsion, though the story has been discredited, like all which tell of Jews in England in early times. With Canute's death in 1055, his empire fell to pieces. The Laws of Edward the Confessor place the Jews under the King's protection; but these

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[2] 'Emek ha-Baka, ed. Wiener, p. 8.

Laws, in their present form, are generally supposed to have been compiled, or at least edited, under the Normans. And it is not until the Norman Conquest, in 1066, that the historian of Anglo-Jewry quits the uncertain realms of conjecture for the firm ground of fact, substantiated from within and without, by Jewish data in Hebrew and by Christian Records in Latin and Norman-French.

CHAPTER II

UNDER WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND HIS SON

William the Conqueror brought a colony of Jews over with him from Rouen as a settled part of his policy. "In the wake of the Conqueror," says Freeman, "the Jews of Rouen found their way to London." They were an important and lucrative section of his subjects and had always enjoyed his special protection. He thought they would prove useful as middlemen between the defeated Anglo-Saxons and the proud narrow-minded knights in his train. They had financed him in his expedition to Hastings and could be relied on to prove a ready source of revenue and provide him with the funds wherewith to hold the Barons at bay. J. R. Green[3] shrewdly observes that "the King's chief safeguard lay in his own wealth and personal power. He was the greatest landowner; his rigid exaction of feudal dues added wealth to the 'great hoard at Winchester,' always a favorite residence for the Norman and Angevin Jew. But William found a more ready source of revenue in the settlement of the Jewish traders who followed him from Normandy. . . The Jew had no right of citizenship in the land; the Jewry in which he lived was, like the King's forest, exempt from the common law. He was simply the King's chattel and his life and goods were absolutely at the

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[3] A Short History of the English People, p. 83.

King's mercy. But he was too valuable a possession to be thrown away lightly."

A royal justiciary secured law to the Jewish merchant, who had no standing ground in the local Courts; his bonds were deposited for safety in a chamber of the royal palace at Westminster, which from their Hebrew name of "starrs" gained the title of the Star Chamber; he was protected against the popular hatred in the free exercise of his religion and allowed to erect synagogues and to direct his own ecclesiastical affairs by means of a chief rabbi. No measures could have been more beneficial to the kingdom at large. The Jew was the only capitalist in Europe and, heavy as was the usury he exacted, his loans gave an impulse to industry such as England had never felt before. The century which followed the Conquest witnessed an outburst of architectural energy which covered the land with castles and cathedrals; but castle and cathedral alike owed their existence to the loans of the Jew. His own example gave a new direction to domestic architecture.

Jews' houses were almost the first houses of stone which superseded the mere hovels of the English burghers and some of these are still to be seen in Lincoln. Nor was the influence of the Jews simply industrial. Through their connection with the Jewish schools in Spain and the East, Jews opened a way for the revival of physical science. A Jewish medical school seems to have existed at Oxford; Adelard of Bath, a 12th Century writer, brought back a knowledge of mathematics from Cordova; Roger Bacon himself studied under the English rabbis.

Freeman[4] does not write in so sympathetic a strain of these Jews. He evidently disapproved of the protection accorded to them by the Conqueror's son. "They came," he says, "as the King's special men, or more truly his special chattels, strangers alike to the monarch and to the commonwealth of England, but strong in the protection of a master who commonly found it to his interest to defend them against all others. The romantic picture of the despised trembling Jew, cringing before every Christian that he meets is, in any age of English history, simply a romantic picture. In the days of Rufus at all events, the Jews of Rouen and London stood erect before the prince of the land, and they seem to have enjoyed no small share of his favour and personal familiarity. He is even said to have shown himself, more than once, when it was to his interest so to show himself, as a kind of missionary of the Hebrew faith . . . When he did take the Jews' part, he clearly found a malicious pleasure in taking it. He enjoyed showing favour to the Jew, because so to do gave annoyance to the Christian."

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[4] Reign of William Rufus, I, 160.

CHAPTER III

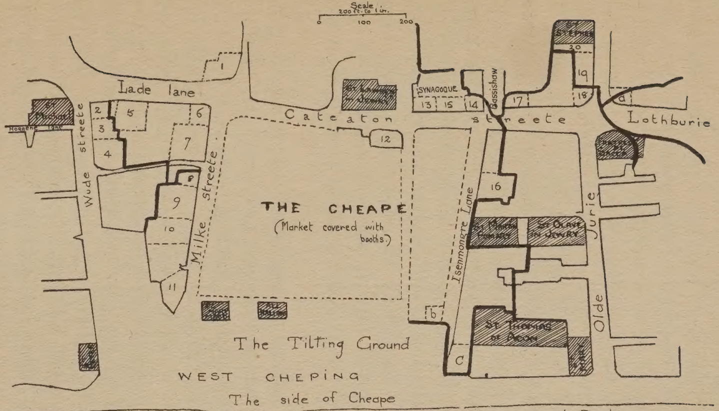
UNDER HENRY I AND STEPHEN

Henry I (1100–1135) succeeded William Rufus and, in his reign, we come across the first reference in the Records to London Jews. This appears in 1115 in the "Terrier of St. Paul's", an account of the lands ("terres") of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral. One of the properties in the Ward of Haco is "in the Jews' Street . . . towards St. Olave's." This would appear to refer to the site of what is now Old Jewry Chambers, close to the Bank of England. Not long after, the Jewry appears to have shifted a little further westward to Cheapside and the Guildhall. The sketch plan here given, taken from an illustration to Jacobs' article on London in the "Jewish Encyclopedia," will serve to identify the various City sites referred to prior to the Expulsion.

In 1130, the Jews of London "render account of £2,000 for the sick man whom they killed." This probably refers to the unsuccessful treatment of a Christian patient by an unlucky Jewish doctor. Jews, in those days, were almost the only medical practitioners, "Masters" they were called, for in Norman times, "Master" meant physician or rabbi and, generally, both.[5] In the Pipe Rolls of 30 Henry I, there are several entries about Jews, among which we find references to "Rubi Gotsce" i. e. Rabbi Josce

[5] Cp. the use of the word חכם as signifying both "Hakam" or Doctor and Chief Sefardic Rabbi.

THE LONDON JEWRY, 1290.


Scale 200 ft. to 1 in.
0
100
200
Lade lane
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
St Michael
Hoggene lane
Wude streete
Milke streete
Cateaton streete
12
St Lawrence in Jewry
SYNAGOGUE
13
15
14
Bassishaw
17
18
19
20
St Stephen
a
Lothburie
16
Isenmongre Lane
St Martin Pomary
St Olave in Jewry
Olde Jurie
b
c
St Thomas of Acon
THE CHEAPE
(Market covered with booths.)
The Tilting Ground
WEST CHEPING
The side of Cheape

Dark lines indicate Parish Boundaries. Shadowed buildings represent Churches.

Plots with numbers belonged to Jews at the Expulsion. Plots marked by letters were owned by Jews previous to the Expulsion.

1. Sara Diei.
2. Mosse fil. Elie.
3. Community.
4. Gamaliel de Oxon.
5. Bateman f. Cresse.
6. Roes' Anteman.
7. Mosseus Crispin.
8. Benedict f. Jacob.
9. Jacob f. Bonami.
10. Muriel f. Cresse.
11. Roesia Truyte.
12. Thippe vid. Isaac.
13. Benedict f. Hagin.
14. Manser f. Aaron.
15. Antera vid. Viyes.
16. Leo f. Cresse.
17. Elie Frounceys.
18. Aaron f. Slemme.
19. Jorvin Sackerel.
20. Elie f. Mosse.

a. Earl of Derby, formerly Isaac of Norwich (1214)
b. Earl of Essex, formerly Abraham f. Muriel, formerly Abraham f. Rabbi (1214)
c. Earl of Lancaster, formerly belonging to a Jew, temp. Ric. I.

The London Jewry (1290)

or Joseph. Joseph Jacobs identified him with the famous French Tosafist and Bible Commentator, R. Joseph Bekor Shor of Orleans, a distinguished foreigner called to the London rabbinate, though Bacher disputes the identification.[6] Anyhow he seems to have been the most prominent Jew in London during Henry's reign. He is often referred to as "Rabbi" without mention of his name, and his son "Isaac fil Rabbi" was the chief of the English Jews under Richard I. He consulted Rabbenu Tam, Rashi's grandson, and the first and chief of the Tosafists, on questions arising in the London *Bet Din*. One of Rubi Gotsce's colleagues was a Spanish visitor, R. Solomon ben Isaac, whom Jacobs calls "the sole stranger among the Jews of London." Solomon's seal is still preserved in the British Museum and is reproduced in Canon Stokes' *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History*.[7]

Henry I was a just king and increased the privileges which the Jews had enjoyed under the reigns of his father and grandfather. They were allowed to settle their own law cases, in their own *Bet Din*, through the "Masters of their Law." They were under the special protection of the king's officers and contributed largely and not always unwillingly to his finances. In London, says Sir Lionel Abrahams, "Jews were warrantised from the Exchequer, and the Constable of the Tower had a special jurisdiction by which he kept the peace between Jews and Christians." Later on, we shall find Jews in residence at the Tower of London and not as prisoners. They are even charged with concealing there the property of deceased relatives, which they wished to protect from escheat to the Crown.

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[6] Jewish Quarterly Review, VI, 357, 378.

[7] From an Arabic word in Hebrew letters inscribed after his name, it has been inferred that he had been forcibly converted to Islam. But the word need only mean "the unfortunate," who has suffered vicissitudes.

The legal status of the English Jew was not a novelty in those times. It was derived from the laws relating to Jews laid down by Charlemagne (768–814), who ruled over an empire comprising modern France and Germany and the Netherlands. That Emperor treated them as aliens under his immediate protection, with freedom of life and property, with the right to trade and with immunity from taxation, except a special sum tax payable to him originally once for all, but afterwards annually.

When Henry I died in 1135, his nephew and successor Stephen (1135–1159) by charter confirmed all the good laws and customs of Henry and Edward the Confessor. The London Jews were not disturbed in their privileges, at any rate for some years. It is true that, in 1136, they had the misfortune to suffer from a fire in the Jewish quarter. But that was due, so far as we know, to the inflammable nature of their wooden houses, not to the malice or greed of incendiaries. It was nearly a century afterwards that the Jews took to building in stone; and even then they were pioneers, and Aaron's house in Lincoln is actually the oldest stone dwelling now standing in England.

For a hundred years after the Conquest there were only a few English crusaders, but the crusading spirit was spreading even in England and with it a growing hatred of the Jew on religious grounds. Under the firm rule of Henry the First, religious persecution was discountenanced by authority, and we meet with none of the absurd but deadly charges of ritual murder which, after 1144, were to recur with such ominous frequency in provincial towns, though apparently not in the metropolis.

In 1139, civil war broke out between Stephen and Henry's daughter Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V; and for fourteen years anarchy reigned in England. Neither party was strong enough to win a decisive victory over the other. Both Stephen and Matilda were captured and released in turn. The Barons changed sides as they pleased, each fighting for his own hand. Upwards of a thousand castles, "each a den of robbers," were erected and the Jews, as always, suffered more than most. The brunt of the fighting was at London and Oxford and, during the siege of the latter in 1141, the Jewish quarter there was set on fire. But the growing power of the Barons was an even more serious menace to the Jews, who as King's men grew weaker with his impotence. It became deadly dangerous for a Jew to venture outside London, for he was exposed to the risk of capture by bandit nobles, who gloried in imprisoning and torturing him and profited by putting him to heavy ransom.

CHAPTER IV

IBN EZRA IN LONDON

When Stephen died, Matilda's son, the first of the Plantagenets, Henry II (1154–1189), landed in England and came to the throne. With Thomas Becket as his Chancellor, he began to reign under favorable auspices. But in 1144, occurred the first of the blood accusations from which European Jewry has suffered so much for 700 years. This was the case of the pretended martyr, William of Norwich.

In 1158, another foreigner, this time a Spaniard and one of the greatest Jews of his day, paid a memorable visit to London. Abraham ibn Ezra was poet, grammarian, Bible critic and — travelling mendicant. Legend calls him the friend of Judah Halevi and he was certainly much revered by Maimonides. There had been a Synod of Rabbis held in Paris in 1150, but the fanaticism engendered by the Second Crusade had made life perilous to the Jew in France and Ibn Ezra determined to cross the English Channel and invite the hospitality of his wealthier and safer co-religionists. Here he found a warm welcome, especially from Josce fil Copin, known in Hebrew literature as Joseph ben Jacob Morel. By a curious coincidence, a manuscript from Yemen contains a poem written by Ibn Ezra in honor of his host and his brother Bonenfaunt. He says:

In Earth's Angle,[8] lo! a double star

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[8] i. e. *angle terre*=Angleterre.

Hath risen, in God's garden, far
Outshining all—Mid briars fell
The rest remain, who wond'ring tell
More lights in earth than heaven dwell.

In his *Sabbath Letter* the poet writes, "I, Abraham ibn Ezra, the Spaniard, was in one of the cities of the island called the 'corner of the earth,'[8] for it is the last of the seven zones of the world."

To Josce Copin, Ibn Ezra dedicated his "Yesod Mora," which he wrote in London. This book throws light on the culture of the English Jews of the time, for it urges the claims of secular learning such as astronomy and mathematics. Josce seems to have been inspired by his illustrious guest, for Hebrew poems composed by him are still extant and, what is more important, he wrote out the second version of Ibn Ezra's commentary on Exodus, which has been printed in countless editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch. As this was written in 1166, the year of Ibn Ezra's death, from the author's dictation, he probably paid a second visit to England and may have died there, as Moses of Tachau in Bohemia (ca. 1280) says he did. In this commentary, in explanation of the Plague of Darkness, there is an obvious reference to a London fog. Another curious detail observed by Ibn Ezra was that prisoners in England were given unleavened bread, *mazzot*, "bread of affliction."[9] This evidently points to the fact that in England then, as to-day in Norway, the poorer classes had to be content with "flad brod."

Josce Copin also paraphrased Ibn Ezra's large commentary on the Bible. At the end of that on the Minor Prophets he says, "I heard these commentaries in London from the mouth of our learned Rabbi Abraham and have explained them in my language as I understood them from him." Josce may have been the author of the "Bikkur," a small grammatical treatise contained in the Frankfort Goldschmidt MS., which contains an important genealogy of eight generations of English Jews. Ibn Verga says[10] that nearly 2,000 Jewish families lived in London at the date of Ibn Ezra's visit. Till 1177 it was the center of the Jewish population of England, and any Jew who died outside London had to be brought there to the cemetery in Cripplegate for burial. It was not till then that the Jews of York and Lincoln combined to buy a cemetery called Jewbury. In 1166, Rabbi Isaac the son of R. Josce was ecclesiastical as well as lay head of the London community. In business he was a partner of the famous Aaron of Lincoln.

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[9] See Hilkot Pesah in Aaron of Lunel's Orhot Hayim.

About 1180, the so-called "Laws of Edward the Confessor" were edited and re-enacted. As promulgated, they contained important clauses dealing with the Jews. The most encouraging was as follows:[11]

> "XXV. It should be known that all Jews, wheresoever in the realm they be, ought to be under the guard and protection of the King's liege. Nor ought any of them place himself under

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[10] Ibn Verga's Shebet Jehudah, ed. Wiener, p. 84.

[11] See Jacobs, p. 68, quoting Howden, ed. Stubbs, II, 237, and referring to Jewish Quarterly Review, I, 287.

any rich man without the King's license; because the Jews themselves and all theirs belong to the King. And if any detain them or their money, let the King, if he will and can, ask it back as if it were his own."

The feudal system had, it is true, existed among the Saxons, but it only attained its full development later on. Jews had no real part in this system. They were not vassals, but their chief and only superior lord was the King. Though not slaves or serfs, they were his chattels and their property was his property. Usurers were outlaw, but Jews were allowed to take interest, and the King participated in the profits of their money business and exacted to the last available penny the debts due to any Jew who had died.

It cannot, however, be too often repeated that the Jews were not only dealers in money, but learned scholars. In 1182, an important influx of rabbis from France occurred. The French king, Philip Augustus, shortly after his coronation, arrested and expelled the Jews from his dominions. They sought refuge across the Channel. Three years later a talliage was imposed on the Jews of London in order to raise funds towards the expenses of the Crusade against Saladin. In a list[12] of the arrears of such talliage we find the names of Frenchmen from Paris (such as Sir Leon of Paris, identified with Leo le Blund), from Joigny, Etaples and Pontoise, as well as foreigners (Frenchmen were not foreigners) from Spain and Morocco (Moses de Hyspan and Josce Mauritu), from Italy and from Lombardy. This was the zenith of pre-expulsion Jewry. England, and especially London, was full of distinguished rabbis, native as well as foreign. There were Tosafists and Masorites and Grammarians such as R. Abraham ben Joseph, R. Jacob of Orleans, Tosafist and chief pupil of Rabbenu Tam (Rashi's grandson) and Bible Commentator, R. Isaac ben Yom Tob of Joigny, R. Isaac of Tchernigow in Russia, R. Samuel Nakdan (Punctuator of Bible Manuscripts), R. Yom Tob ben R. Moses of Bristol, R. Eleazar of London, R. Meir of London, his son R. Isaac and many more.[13]

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[12] Pipe Rolls, 3 Ric. 1.

The most distinguished was R. Elhanan ben R. Isaac ben R. Samuel, known to the Normans as Deodatus Episcopus. He was a grandson of Rashi (1040–1105), the greatest European Jew of the Middle Ages. His wife was the sister of Sir Morel of England, otherwise R. Samuel ben Solomon Shalom. Deodatus Episcopus was an astronomer and his book on the calendar, "Sefer ha-'Ibbur," is still extant. In 1178, he acted as *Dayyan* or Ecclesiastical Assessor in the London Community.

Josce fil Elias de Nicol (=Lincoln) was, apparently, a distinguished Tosafist, whose glosses to the Talmud are still to be read in every edition of that great work. An acquittance to the Priory of Newhouses signed by him is extant which is couched in pure Hebrew, except for the transliteration of names and Latin legal terms. "Starrs" of this kind are valuable, because they furnish us with the key to the pronunciation of contemporary English or Anglo-French names of people and places.

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[13] See Jacobs, Jews of Angevin England, 417 et seqq. Some of these figure in the Pedigree given in Chapter VIII.

Another, and perhaps the most notable of these rabbis, was R. Yom Tob of Joigny. He is described by a contemporary Christian chronicler as "a certain old man, a most famous Doctor of the Law according to the letter that kills, who, it is said, had come from the parts beyond the Sea to teach the English Jews. He was honoured by all and was obeyed by all, as if he had been one of the prophets."

Besides the English Tosafists, of whom there can be no question, it has been ingeniously argued that the *Ba'ale Tosafot Gornish* are Tosafists of Norwich, the wise men of Gornish, whose glosses on the Talmud are of great importance. In Hebrew the equation גורניש=נורגיש is obvious. Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler was confident of the identification, but it has been questioned by Schechter and others.[14] Two manuscripts of these *Tosafot* are in the late Baron David Gunzburg's Library, which had been acquired by the Zionists during the War, but is now said to be partly in Kowno and partly in Moscow, whence the Bolsheviks will not let it be taken. Another manuscript is now in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

These Tosafists are cited by Joseph del Medigo of Crete and others, and in 1851 Moses Margoliouth in his *History of the Jews of Great Britain* records a current local opinion "that the sayings of the wise men of Gornish (i. e. Norwich) and of York are quoted in some of the editions made by the expounders of the Talmud."

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[14] "Papers Read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition," London, 1888, pp. 272–4; Schechter in Jewish Chronicle, May 4, 1888; Gross, Gallia Judaica, 136; Neubauer, Revue des Etudes Juives, XVII, 156.

Among these wise men, were Rabbi Judah of Gornish, Rabbi David of Gornish and Rabbi Meir of England. This Rabbi Meir of England appears to be identical with the poet, many of whose poems are still extant and who figures in our Pedigree. The most important of these is a Passover Hymn of one hundred and eight lines, the acrostic of which gives: "Meir son of Rabbi Eliah of the City of Norwich which is in the Island called Angleterre." This poem, with sixteen smaller ones also of his composition, was published by Professor Berliner in 1886 in an edition limited to twenty–five copies. Rabbi Meir was the son of the Arch-presbyter Elia of London. A relative of his was Yom Tob ben Moses, of whom we have a "starr" in which he contracts with Solomon ben Eliab to give his daughter to Solomon in marriage, with a dowry of ten marks and a further five marks a year later. He further contracts to provide them both with week-day and Sabbath apparel and to give them board and lodging for a whole year, to clothe them and shoe them and discharge their talliage and to engage a teacher to instruct the husband for a twelvemonth after marriage.

But by 1189 this pleasant picture of learned and happy Jews in England is troubled by the terrible massacres which occurred in London, Norwich, Stamford and York.

CHAPTER V

RICHARD THE LIONHEARTED

Richard I (1189–1199) succeeded his father, and was crowned at Westminster on the 3rd of September 1189. On the whole the Jews seem to have been tolerably treated during the long reign of Henry II, but they would appear to have expected that the accession of the most chivalrous prince of his time, Richard the Lionhearted, would improve their condition. He had fought in Palestine, and reports must have reached them of his talks with his magnanimous enemy Saladin, and, perhaps, with Moses Maimonides, the world's most illustrious Jew since Bible times. For we are told by the Arabic chronicler Al-Kitti that "the King of the Franks in Ascalon" wanted Moses to act as his private physician, but he refused the offer.

Some references to such conversations are to be found in Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman*, the famous novel about the Crusades. The Jews were determined not to be behindhand in their acclaim of the new king and they crowded to his coronation. Delegates were sent to Westminster from the chief communities of England, such as York, and even from France, a large portion of which owed allegiance to Angevin England. D. H. Gross, the chief authority on Early French Jews, suggests that Jacob of Orleans had been in London some time before his death.[15]

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[15] Gallia Judaica, p. 36.

Among these, the most eminent would appear to have been this Jacob of Orleans, the chief Tosafist of his day, and Josce of York. But Jewish hopes were frustrated and the riot which ensued, in which Jacob found a martyr's death, cannot be better described than by the pen of an English chronicler of the time, who was certainly no friend of the Jews and yet cannot avoid some expressions of pity.

"That day," says the chronicler William of Newburgh,[16] "is known to have been a fatal one for the Jews, and more Egyptian than English, since England, where they had been happy and renowned, was suddenly by God's judgment changed for them into an Egypt where their fathers suffered hard things . . . There had come together for the solemn anointing of the Christian prince from all quarters of England, not alone Christian nobles, but likewise the chiefs of the Jews. For these enemies of truth, fearing that the good luck they had under the former king might be less favourable to them under the new, brought first fruits most decorous and honourable, and hoped to find favour equal to the multitude of their gifts. But he, either because he was less favourable to them than his father, or having some premonition, a certain superstitious foreboding about the plans of certain persons, by an edict, it is said, forbade them entry either into the church where he was being crowned or to the palace where he was banqueting after the coronation. When the solemnities of the mass were concluded, the King, glittering in his diadem, with magnificent pomp entered the palace for the banquet. Now it happened that while he was at the repast with all the assembly of the nobles, the people watching round the palace began rioting. Some Jews mixed among the crowd by this means entered the royal doors. Whereat a certain Christian, being, it is said, indignant, struck a Jew with his palm and so drove him away from the entrance of the door, thus recalling the King's edict. And many being excited by this example drove away the Jews with insults, and, a tumult arising, a disorderly crowd came up and believing the King had commanded such treatment, as if relying on the authority of the King, rushed together upon the crowd of Jews waiting at the palace gates. And at first indeed they struck them with the fist but afterwards, being more savagely enraged, they brought sticks and stones. Then the Jews began to flee, some during their flight being beaten unto death, or some of them even being crushed, perished. Now there had come thither with the rest two noble Jews of York, viz. Josce and Benedict, of which the first escaped, but the other was caught as he fled but tardily from the strokes laid upon him: in order to escape death, he was compelled to confess Christ and being led into the church was baptised on the spot. In the meantime a pleasing rumour spread with incredible rapidity through all London, namely that the King had ordered all the Jews to be exterminated. And soon a huge mob of disorderly persons, both from the City as well as of those whom the ceremony of hallowing of the King had attracted from the provinces, ran up all armed and breathing slaughter and spoil against the people of God's judgment hated by all. Then the Jewish citizens, of whom a multitude is known to dwell in London, together with those who had flocked together from all parts, withdrew into their own houses. These houses were surrounded by the roaring people, and were stoutly besieged from nine o'clock till sunset, and as they could not be broken into, owing to their strong build, and because the madmen had no tools, fire was thrown on the (thatched) roof and a terrible fire quickly broke out which was fatal to the Jews as they strove (to put it out) and offered the aid of light to the raging Christians at their night work. And the fire kindled against the Jews did not hurt them alone but likewise seized hold of the neighbouring houses of Christians: you might see all of a sudden the best known places of the city wretchedly alight through fires of citizens acting as if they had been enemies. But the Jews were either roasted in their own houses or if they came out of them were received with swords. Much blood was shed in a brief space. But soon the lust after booty burning higher brought on a repletion of slaughter and avarice got the better of cruelty. Thereupon leaving the butchery, their greedy rage betook itself to stripping the houses and snatching their riches. But this in its turn made Christians oppose Christians, for each envied what the other may have seized, and, in the eagerness of plunder, the rivalry of avarice forgetting all natural ties spared neither friends or comrades. This was reported to the King, as he was joyfully banqueting in the palace with all the assembly of his Knights. Kanulf de Glanville, the King's Procurator, a man both prudent and powerful, is sent out by the side gate with others equally noble so that he might either divert or check their boldness. But in vain: amidst such a tumult none of them either listened to his voice or paid honour to his presence, nay some of the more unruly commenced to rave against them and threatened them terribly if they did not withdraw pretty soon. As they accordingly avoided such unbridled rage, the license became as great as boldness could make it and the spoilers raged on till the second hour of the following day, and even then it was satiety or weariness rather than reason or respect for the prince that calmed the fury of the robbers.

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[16] Jacobs, p. 99, quoting Howlett's edition, I, 294.

"The new King, however, being of a great and fierce spirit, was indignant and grieved that such things should have occurred at the ceremony of his coronation, and the beginning of his reign. He was angry, and yet perplexed to know what was to be done in the matter. To pass over such a breach of the royal majesty without any example, and to dismiss it unavenged, seemed unworthy of a King and harmful to the state, since passing over such an atrocity would encourage bold and wicked persons to attempt similar misdeeds in confidence of being able to do so with impunity. But on the other hand to exercise the rigour of the royal displeasure against such a multitude of criminals was plainly impossible. For except the nobles banqueting with the King, whose number was such that the breadth of the royal palace seemed narrow, hatred of the Jews and the temptation to plunder had attracted to the perpetration of the deed above-mentioned almost the whole body of the citizens, and almost all the families of the nobles who had come up with the nobles themselves to the ceremony of the King's coronation. He had, therefore, to dissemble where vengeance was impossible, God doubtless arranging that those who had stood forth as the ministers of Divine vengeance against blaspheming infidels should not suffer human justice on that account. For that reason the heavenly example demanded that those blasphemers who in the time of the preceding reign had been too stiff-necked and haughty towards Christians should be humbled at the beginning of its successor. But the prince guaranteed peace to the Jews by an edict after the slaughter; but as will be narrated in its place, they did not enjoy this long, heaven's judgment demanding that the pride of the blaspheming people should be chastised most severely."

King Richard was obviously not the man to tolerate the excesses recorded. He even permitted the pusillanimity of Benedict of York to go unpunished. Poor Benedict, in fear of his life, had, as we have read, allowed himself to be baptised, but on the following day he repented and the King allowed him to revert to his ancient faith. The nobles and the people were not so broad minded. There is no mental disease so catching as Jew-baiting. As we, alas, have seen in our own days, it appeals to the lowest characteristics of inhuman nature. And so the riots of London are followed by massacres in Norwich, Stamford, and York and other Jewries such as Bury

St. Edmunds and Lincoln. Only Winchester, the "Jerusalem of English Jews" as it was called, escaped for a time. Richard was very wroth, but he did not stay long in England. If he had been on the spot, his strong hand would have prevented these outrages. But during his whole ten years' reign he only returned to England once, in 1194, and then for a period of no more than two months.

The same William goes on to say:

"The deeds done at York were soon carried across the sea to the prince, who had guaranteed peace and security to the Jews in his kingdom after the rising at London. He is indignant and in a rage both for the insult to his royal majesty and for the great loss to the treasury, for to the treasury belonged whatever the Jews, who are known to be the royal usurers, seem to possess in the way of goods. Soon giving a mandate to the Bishop Ely (William Longchamp), the Royal Chancellor and regent of the kingdom, that such a deed of daring should be punished with a suitable revenge, the said bishop, a man of fierce mind and eager for glory, comes to the City of York about Ascension day (May 3) with an army and began an enquiry, to the great fear of the burgesses. But the chief and best known actors of the deeds done, leaving everything they had in the country, fled before his face to Scotland. But the citizens persistently declaring that the deeds for which they were incurring his displeasure had not been done with their wish or counsel or aid, and that with slender resources they could not prevent the unbridled attack of an undisciplined mob, at length the Chancellor, having imposed a pecuniary mulct on each according to the income of his fortune, received satisfaction for not punishing them more severely. But the promiscuous and numberless mob, whose untrained zeal had been the principal cause of the deed, could not be summoned or brought to justice. And so the Chancellor, removing him who had had the administration of the country (the Sheriff John Marshall), went off without shedding blood since he could not carry out the King's command more efficaciously. Nor has anyone been brought to punishment for that slaughter of the Jews up to this day."

On the 22nd of March 1190, Richard granted a charter to Isaac son of Rabbi Josce, the Chief Rabbi of that date, by which their liberties were granted and confirmed to the Jews of England and Normandy. They are "to reside in our land freely and honourably." Jews are to be judged by their peers and, if they are "appealed" (i. e. sued) without a witness, they are to be acquitted on their own oath, on their roll (i. e. *Sefer Torah*), they may "sell their pledges after holding them for a year and a day," they may "go whithersoever they will, with all their chattels, just like our own goods and let no one keep them or prevent them," and they are to be "free of all customs and of tolls and modiation of wine just like our own chattels," and his archbishops are to "ward, defend and protect them." This charter is under the seal of the King and countersigned at Rouen by the Chancellor, William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely. In his reign too we read that the Jew Dieulecresse apparently held manorial status at Finchingfield, Essex.[17]

In 1192, we are told of a Christian woman, Godeliva of Canterbury, entering a Jewish house to cure a Jewess's foot, and of the miraculous fracture of her bucket, containing holy water blessed by St. Thomas a Becket. This ominous event so frightened her that she did not venture in. But the story proves that Jews and Christians had some sort of social intercourse in those days and visited each other's houses.

In 1194, a new regime begins in the regulation of the affairs of Jewry, in consequence of which the "Exchequer of the Jews" was established. Till that date, Jews had been used by the King as indirect tax gatherers, but they were not formally recognized. Now a special branch of the Treasury was created to control Jewish loans and benefit the Royal purse. The massacres at the beginning of the reign had shown the necessity of a check and record of Jewish business, and the huge windfall to the King which fell in when Aaron of Lincoln died in 1186, made it worth while. It proved that some Jews were very rich indeed. Aaron was the financier, who supplied the funds with which the Cathedrals of Lincoln and Peterborough were built, and who held their plate and relics in pawn. The King was Aaron's legal heir and the "Exchequer of Aaron," the Treasury department dealing with his estate, was the immediate precursor of the "Exchequer of the Jews." His son

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[17] See Times Lit. Sup. of 17 May, 1923, p. 343, quoting the Essex Review.

Elias paid, in 1208, 400 marks into the Treasury as death dues in respect of 446 charters, or what we should nowadays call loan agreements. But the houses Aaron possessed at his death, and he had several, were held to have escheated to the Crown, and were administered by the "Scaccarium Aronis." His house in Lothbury, London, where the Bank of England now stands, was given by the King to his clerk, Thomas de Neville.

Rules called "Ordinances" were formulated for the administration of the affairs of the Jews and it would seem that the Jews themselves were consulted in regard to them. For it is a strange coincidence that they were framed upon much the same lines as the German laws relating to Jews, which had been promulgated by Heinrich IV a hundred years previously. Reference has already been made to German visitors to England under William the Second. And it will be seen that the most powerful and learned Anglo-Jewish family of Angevin England traced its descent to Rabbi Simeon "the Great" of Mayence. Who then would be more familiar with those laws than the rabbis, if consulted by King Richard's counsellors?

These Ordinances of Jewry required registration of all debts, pledges, mortgages, lands, houses, rents and possessions of the Jews. And six or seven cities in the kingdom were provided, where *Archae* (or boxes) had to be placed, in which the contracts of Jews were to be preserved, under the control of two Christian and two Jewish lawyers and two registrars, one Christian and one Jewish. Such cities were, in the first instance, London and then Lincoln, Norwich, Winchester, Canterbury, Oxford, Cambridge, Hereford and Bristol.

Twenty-seven Anglo-Jewish authors of the twelfth Century are enumerated by Jacobs[18], of whom the chief London worthies were, besides the distinguished French Tosafist emigrés, R. Moses b. Yom Tob of Joigny, R. Moses b. Isaac ha-Nassia, author of the *Onyx Book*,[19] Rabbi of the Bristol community and grandfather of the famous R. Moses of London and Rabbi Menahem of London (or Elia Menahem of London) who is quoted by several Jewish authorities. To these we may add R. Jacob of London, appointed Arch-presbyter by King Richard, R. Eleazar of London, R. Meir of Angleterre, the author of "Hilkot Abel", R. Solomon of London,[20] and R. Elia of Warwick.[21]

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[18] Jacobs, Jews of Angevin England, pp. 417–421.

[19] In Hebrew "Shoham," an anagram of "Mosheh," Moses.

[20] He is quoted by the Rashba, III, 3, but Gross thinks that "London" here means Chateau Landon in France.

[21] Twice cited in D. S. Sassoon's "Mordecai," MS. No. 534.

CHAPTER VI

UNDER KING JOHN (1199—1216)

In 1199 John succeeded his brother Richard and one of his earliest acts was to confirm the establishment of the Exchequer of the Jews. In the second year of his reign, at the price of 4,000 marks, he granted a Charter of Liberties to the Jews, in very much the same form as that given by his predecessors, and he confirmed the appointment previously made by his brother Richard of Rabbi Jacob of London as Arch-presbyter for life.

It is the fashion with some pseudo-historians to picture John as the feeble successor of a strong king. But John, however feeble his physique, was no mental weakling. Shakespeare has damned him as the cowardly tormentor of Arthur, and the Great Charter extorted from him by the Barons is regarded as a proof of his feebleness. Everybody knows the story how he extorted money from a Jew by pulling out his teeth, but, for all that, he was a political genius and, though his morals were detestable, his mental powers were of no mean order.

In 1204 there had been riots in London against the Jews, but the King protected them and, as Tovey records, on the 22nd of June 1204, enjoined the Mayor and Barons of London to preserve the peace.

"Since ye know that the Jews are under our special protection, we wonder that you allow harm to be done to the Jews residing in the city of London, since that is clearly against the peace of the realm and the tranquillity of our land. And we wonder and are moved at this, the more because the other Jews wheresoever they reside through England, except those in your town, remain at peace. We say this for our Jews and for our peace, for, if we have granted our peace to anyone, it should be observed inviolably. Henceforth, however, we commit the Jews residing in the City of London to your custody, so that, if any attempt to do them harm, you may defend them, coming to their assistance with an armed force. For we shall require their blood at your hand, if, by your fault, any ill happen to them, which may God forbid. For we well know that things of this sort happen by reason of the unwise of the towns and not of the discreet, and the discreet ought to check the folly of the unwise."

The Jews themselves knew well enough that it was not out of love for them, but because they were of use to him as money getters, that he protected them.

In 1209 Josce became Arch-presbyter and persecutions began. In the following year, John, being in extreme need of money, arrested all the Jews of the kingdom and wrung from them the huge amount of 66,000 marks. Some the King banished, if they did not or could not pay the minimum contribution imposed by him, and many went into voluntary exile.

In 1211 there was what Mr. Myer Davis has happily called a sort of Zionist Conference held in London. The conference was addressed by Rabbi

Joseph ben Baruk "Calson" of Colchester,[22] who had come to London for the purpose and who persuaded many of the Jews to go with him to Palestine. His brother R. Meir b. Baruk is identified by Zunz with R. Meir of Angleterre. It is recorded that three hundred French and English Jews emigrated to Palestine about this date under the leadership of R. Meir. The greatest of them was perhaps the Tosafist Samson of Sens. They are referred to by the Satirist, Rabbi Judah Solomon Al-Harizi, in his "Tahkemoni", and by the author of a similar work[23] who describes his talks with the "men of Frangistan". Joseph's grandson is the author and writer of a manuscript still extant.[24]

In 1215 the rebellious Barons collected an army against John which was enthusiastically welcomed in London. It is significant that one of its first acts was to sack the London Jewry. Modern happenings in Eastern Europe show that the tendency survives even in the twentieth century.

In June, John signed the great Charter[25] at Runnymede, on the River Thames near Staines. The tenth section contains many clauses directed against the Jews, such as that no interest was to accrue on Jews' debts during an heir's minority. These clauses disappear in later confirmations of the Charter—not because of a kinder feeling against Jews, but because the Jews themselves had disappeared from England.

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[22] His family name is קלצון, which in the records is the Hebrew for Colchester. Gross takes the name to mean Clisson (Revue des Etudes Juives, VI, 185). See also note 36.

[23] MS. Adler, 4025.

[24] MS. Adler, 1444, V; Adler, "About Hebrew Manuscripts," 25.

[25] "Magna Charta," one of the parchment originals of which is still to be seen at the British Museum with the royal seal appended.

In 1216 John died and Henry III, his infant son, succeeded him. One of the first acts of the Regent, Lord Pembroke, was to release such of the Jews as remained in prison. Some of the exiles of 1209 returned from overseas, so that in 1217 it was deemed necessary to nominate twenty-four burgesses in each town to protect the Jews from the violence of crusaders and others.

In 1218 Jews were ordered to wear two tablets of white linen or parchment on the breast of their garment as a distinctive sign, perhaps in part as a protection. The origin of the badge may well be the two tablets of stone on which the Ten Commandments were inscribed. Furthermore, every Jew coming to England was to be enrolled by the Justices appointed for the custody of the Jews and they were not to leave their enclosure, or Jewry, without license.

CHAPTER VII

LONDON RABBIS: THE ARCH-PRESBYTER

Two facts must be borne in mind when dealing with Anglo-Jewish worthies of pre-expulsion times. First, that in the records, copious as these are, the names of comparatively few families appear, so that it is probable that their money-lending or, shall we call them, banking transactions, were apparently not those of individuals but of firms or co-operative societies, who preferred to act under cover of the name of their few rich and more prominent representatives. Indeed, as Sir B. L. Abrahams has shown,[26] the great majority of English Jews were poor. And, secondly, that the office of Rabbi was not, until the fourteenth century, a paid profession, but that important Jews were almost invariably distinguished for their rabbinical learning. To be in those days prominent in the eyes of Gentiles as well as among his own people, a Jew was necessarily a "Rabbi," an authority on *Din* (Hebrew Ecclesiastical law), a Tosafist, a Masorite, or Nakdan, and sometimes also a physician.

When the King of England sought for a representative Jew to scrutinize and verify Hebrew contracts in the Exchequer of the Jews, to administer justice among the Jews, to advise him as to talliages, it would be such a Jew that he would select. In the twelfth century, the Jewish Justice or Warden would therefore almost certainly be a Rabbi, the chief of the English Rabbis—the wealthiest, most learned, most influential. When, therefore, in 1199, King John, apparently following the precedent of his brother Richard, appointed an "Arch-presbyter of the Jews of England", with judicial and secular functions, it is not without justification that Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler, following Coke and Selden, Joseph Jacobs and Dr. Gross, included the Arch-presbyters in his historical survey of "Chief Rabbis of England." He meant that the Arch-presbyter, though not a salaried official, was the Ecclesiastical as well as Lay Head of his community, the Chief of its Rabbis. For his lay services, he was entitled to exact fees.[27]

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[26] Transactions Jewish Historical Society, II, 83.

It would seem that the Arch-presbyter of Anglo-Jewry occupied a position analogous to that of the Exilarch in Babylon or the Nagid in Egypt or Granada. Those dignitaries owed their appointment to the Caliph. They were the political heads of their Jewry, but they were also scholars and preachers, and a few of their rabbinical responsa are still extant. Some of them were physicians like Maimonides. Although the English Jews had recourse to their own tribunals for all questions as between Jew and Jew or as to wills and settlements, there are but few references to be found in the records to the transactions of their *Bet Din* or "Capitulum Judaeorum",[28] as it was officially designated. We can not therefore cite any case where the Arch-presbyter presided, or even sat on such *Bet Din.* The English Chief Rabbi, like the "Magister Judaeorum" in a city of the Rhine, was the recognized head of the Jewish community and there was often, perhaps always, another Rabbi in London who presided over the school and acted as ecclesiastical assessor on the *Bet Din.* But "Magister" in old records generally means Physician, and not necessarily "Rabbi".

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[27] E. g. Arch-presbyter Elias. See Jews' Roll, No. 3.

[28] One of these cases occurs in the Mag. Rot., 4 Ric. 1., cited by Davis in his "Shetarot: Hebrew Deeds of English Jews," IX. The question put to the *Bet Din* was whether one Jew could exact

Canon Stokes, relying on Prynne, who seems to have changed his own opinion on the subject, believes that during the thirteenth century no Arch-presbyter was a Rabbi, but that the office was purely a lay one.

There are circumstances which tend to shake such evidence as he adduces and it is suggested that the incumbents can be identified with Rabbis, known from Jewish sources, apart altogether from the testimony of the English records. Of course the question is complicated by the difficulty of identifying the Latin names of the various Arch-presbyters with their Hebrew ones, the more so as four out of six are described in their charters of appointment by one name only, and without mention of their fathers. Jacob Judaeus of London, appointed in 1201, cannot be Rabbi Jacob ben Judah Hazzan, author of the " 'Ez Hayim", a compilation which deals largely with

interest from another Jew. In Rigg's "Select Pleas, Starrs and other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews," p. 65, we find a case where Jewish litigants about the mortgage of a house in Ironmonger Lane in the City of London may elect to plead in either the Court Christian or the Court Jewish (Curia Judaica).

the Liturgy of the Jews of England. But he may be the Rabbi Jacob quoted in a Commentary on Job, written in Northern France and, perhaps erroneously, attributed to Benedict of Oxford. He is probably the author of a translation of the Haggadah or Passover Service for the use of English women and children, referred to by the Rama.[28a]

Josce of London, appointed in 1209, is probably Rabbi Joseph ben Yehiel, the donee of the famous Oxford bowl, which was found by a fisherman in an East Anglian brook about 1700. If this is so, he might be identical with Josce fil Dyea, whose property is mentioned, after his death, in charters of 1273. The inscription on the bowl shows that he was a Chief Rabbi and intended to emigrate to Palestine and that Jekuthiel was his son. His brother, known as Delsaut, was imprisoned and made a vow to go to Palestine on his release,[29]t hough he was afterwards absolved from his vow. This must refer to the Jewish emigration to Palestine of 1211. Among the Norwich Hebrew Records[30] we come across Jekuthiel, son of ה'ר (i. e. the Chief Rabbi) Joseph Yehiel, in 1251 and 1257. He is described as Jekuthiel of Londres in a Manuscript at Oxford which gives a response of his to his pupil R. Jedidiah of Toulouse[31].

[28a] Darke Mosheh, Tur I, 473.

[29] See Neubauer, Bodleian Catalogue, p. 152, MS. 781. Kinsmen or descendants of Josce may be found in Jekuthiel b. Yehiel, in 1280 author of Ma'alot ha-Middot and scribe of MSS. and in Yehiel b. Jekuthiel of Rome. Manuscripts in his writing dated 1284, 1287 and 1289 still survive. The last was the famous manuscript of the Talmud Jerushalmi, from which Bomberg printed the editio princeps.

[30] Davis, Hebrew Deeds, 51 and 80.

[31] Neubauer, ib., p. 872, MS. 2456 (10).

Aaron of York, who officiated from 1239 to 1243, does not appear to have been a Rabbi. He is not to be confounded with Magister Aaron of Kent and Canterbury who frequently figures in the records, about 1274, and who was, besides, a great Tosafist Rabbi. But if Aaron of York was not a Rabbi, his delegate or attorney, specially mentioned in the charter of appointment, was a Rabbi—Josce fil Copin, or, in Hebrew, Joseph ben Jacob. He was probably a grandson of Ibn Ezra's learned friend and pupil, Rabbi Joseph ben Jacob Morel. Aaron was no doubt appointed in connection with the Jews' Parliament of Worcester, at which representatives of all the English Jewries attended, in order to assess themselves for tribute. Finance is a special parliamentary function of the House of Commons, but this is the only ground on which that assembly of Jews can lay claim to so proud a title. Aaron's brother Benedict is styled "Episcopus" and was probably a Rabbi like "Juden Bischof" in the German records. Aaron lived till 1256, when his widow and two sons, Cok and Manasser, paid the King 2,000 marks "that they might have the goods that belonged to their father." He had only held office till 1243, when Magister Elias l'Eveske became Arch-presbyter. The Letters appointing him to succeed Aaron of York in the presbyterate are signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the King's Chancellor, the Bishop of Chichester, another Bishop, nine Barons and others. He was a son of the famous Magister

Moses, Rabbi Moses of London, [32] and had been one of the representatives of his London co-religionists at the Jewish Parliament which met at Worcester four years before his appointment. He is the Rabbi Eliahu of London quoted in the Mordecai (Baba Kamma, chap. 9)[33] and is to be distinguished from Rabbi Eliahu of Warwick[34] and from Rabbi Eleazar of London, a correspondent of the Rabia (Rabbi Eliezer b. Joel the Levite).

In 1250 he was given power to excommunicate his recalcitrant brethren—a privilege which, as we shall see, has been expressly withheld from the modern Chief Rabbis of England since 1845.

Magister Elias, besides being a distinguished physician, was an eloquent speaker. Matthew of Paris (1200–1259) tells of his impassioned tirade against the unbearable talliage of 1253. His eloquence cost him his office, for, in 1257, he was "abjudicatus" i. e. dismissed from office. In 1280 he was allowed to go to Flanders and a letter in his handwriting is referred to later on. Between 1245 and 1272, Henry III spent more than half a million sterling on rebuilding Westminster Abbey. The exactions by which he raised this sum were largely wrung out of the Jews. So desperate was the situation that in 1255 the whole community begged to be allowed to leave the country, but their request was refused. The appointment of a successor to Elias did not immediately follow. There were protracted negotiations with his family and, at last, his brothers Hagin and Cresse paid the King a fine of three marks of gold and the community were permitted to elect Hagin as the new Arch-presbyter in 1260. He lived in troublous times. The Barons' Wars proved disastrous to the Jews. After the Battle of Lewes in 1264, they felt the full force of the hatred of the Baronial Party. Florence of Worcester says that "in this year, the barons and the Londoners spoiled the London Jews and killed many." Early in April the Jewish quarter was ravaged and the "Memor Book" of Nuremberg contains a record of this calamity, in which fifteen hundred Jews are said to have lost their lives.

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[32] Dr. Stokes maintains that he was a son of Benedictus le Eveske (or Cohen), but though his argument is ingenious, it is against the weight of authority and evidence. While fully admitting that "Eveske" or "Episcopus" was sometimes a patronymic, equivalent to Cohen, it was unquestionably also applied to the office of Rabbi in both English and German records. And it is inconceivable that Henry the Third's contemporary *congé d'élire* could be in error in describing Cresse and Hagin as his brothers. It is also very unlikely that "Elijas Episcopus Judaeus London" means anything else than "Elias Jewish Rabbi of London." It is also highly improbable that the Arch-presbyter Elias is to be identified with a convert Elias "whose surname was Bishop," and whose goods escheated to the King and were by him granted to Master Elias son of Master Moses. In our view it was just this latter Elias who was the real Arch-presbyter. And it was this Elias Episcopus who claimed 20 shillings from certain Jews "by reason of his presbyterate" (occasione presbyteratus sui). See Exchequer Plea Rolls: Jews' Roll No. 3, mem. 1; and Select Pleas, p. 84.

[33] Cp. MS. Sassoon, 290, p. 379.

[34] MS. Sassoon, 534.

Thus the following extract from an Elizabethan *Historie of England* (based on Grafton's abridgment) records that on the first of February 1267, "The Earle of Gloucester with an army cometh to London rebelling against the King and wishing for the banishment of strangers . . . But when the Earle seemed to give finall regarde to his words, he (the Papal Legate) got him secretly againe into the Tower, with certain noble men the Kings friendes meaning to defend it to the uttermost of their powers. There entred also into the Tower a great number of Jews with their wives and children, unto whome one ward of the Tower was committed to defend, which they did in that necessity very stoutly. Many of the citizens fearing a newe insurrection avoided out of the citie, whose goods the Earle seased unto his owne use, or suffred his men to spoyle the same at their pleasure."

The citizens of London were afraid, but the Jews had even greater cause for alarm. Their *Archae* were frequently raided and the Jewries sacked in London, Canterbury and Northampton. The massacres which ensued are specially recorded in the famous "Memor Books" of Nuremberg and Mayence and Speyer, read out in the Synagogues of those cities on the Day of Atonement.

In 1278 the whole of Jewry were thrown into prison for coin clipping and 293 persons convicted. Hagin himself had been charged with attempting to injure the King's Exchequer by concealing goods belonging to the estate of his daughter's father-in-law, who had just died, and removing them to the Tower, where the Arch-presbyter then resided. From the records, he seems to have evaded prosecution for a time by going overseas to France. By 1280, however, he had come back, was thrown into prison and died there.

During his presbyterate, things had gone badly enough for the Jews. A London synagogue had been closed in 1272 and given to the Friars Penitenciars. But matters grew worse after his death and late in 1280, the year in which he died, the London Jews were forced to attend the Dominicans' conversion services and to behave there in orderly manner.[35] Robert de Redingge (Reading), one of the Dominican preachers, instead of converting them, became himself a Jew. In 1282 all the remaining London synagogues but one were closed. Perhaps in mockery, a successor to Hagin was in the following year appointed by the nomination as Arch-presbyter of his nephew and namesake, Cok Hagin, son of Deulacres of London "with the assent of the Jewish Community." Hagin, though rich like all his family, was more of a scholar than a diplomat. He appears to have translated Ibn Ezra's Hebrew tracts on Astrology into French, when he acted as Master of the Law (i. e. Rabbi) in the Synagogue at Malines, in 1275. Neubauer suggests that he also translated the famous *Ymage de monde*—a sort of Encyclopaedia. Our Magister Elias is probably not identical with the London Rabbi, ר"א of Londres. The abbreviation ר"א is generally interpreted to mean Rabbi Eleazar of London. He is frequently cited in Jewish authorities. Thus, in the "Mordecai" he is quoted as having accepted the evidence of a Christian as to the murder of a Jew, on his way from York to Lincoln, when he was carrying £10 (a large sum in those days) which had been entrusted to him by a Jewess of the former City.[36]

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[35] Renan, Rabbins Français, 508; Güdemann, Erziehungswesen, 186.

In an Ashburnham manuscript in the British Museum about the origin of St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark (Stowe 640), we find several entries about Jews in Southwark and Camberwell, then suburbs of London. Thus we find that in 1213, a House for Converts was built near the almery of Bermondsey Priory by Prior Richard. Bishop Peter, the founder of the Hospital, gave £100 for the encouragement and help of Jewish converts. But, writes Mr. W. Rendle, [36a] "if a Christian was converted to Judaism, which sometimes happened, he was burnt." Isaac[36b] fil Samuel of Southwark was a large property owner. In 1286 he sells a tenement and house for 28 marks; a pair of white gloves, value one penny, or a penny being rendered annually for the same. The same Isaac grants to the Brethren of St. Thomas's a messuage about which "he is careful to say that he was by the heirs drawn into disputes at law." He signs the deed in Hebrew. Richard Marshall of Lewisham grants him for one mark of silver a piece of land for which he is to pay 2s at Michaelmas and 2s annually as quit rent to the Prior of Bermondsey. A proviso adds that "Isaac is not for any cause to be deprived of this land and tenement." "It is asserted," proceeds the author, "that

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[36] See Mordecai (Riva di Trento edition) end Yebamot and ib. Shabbat 243. See also ib. Gittin 465 and 467 for Isaac de Londres and ib. Pesahim 595 for Calson.

[36a] "St. Thomas's Hospital, from its Foundation to 1553," by W. Rendle, London, 1882.

[36b] See note 36.

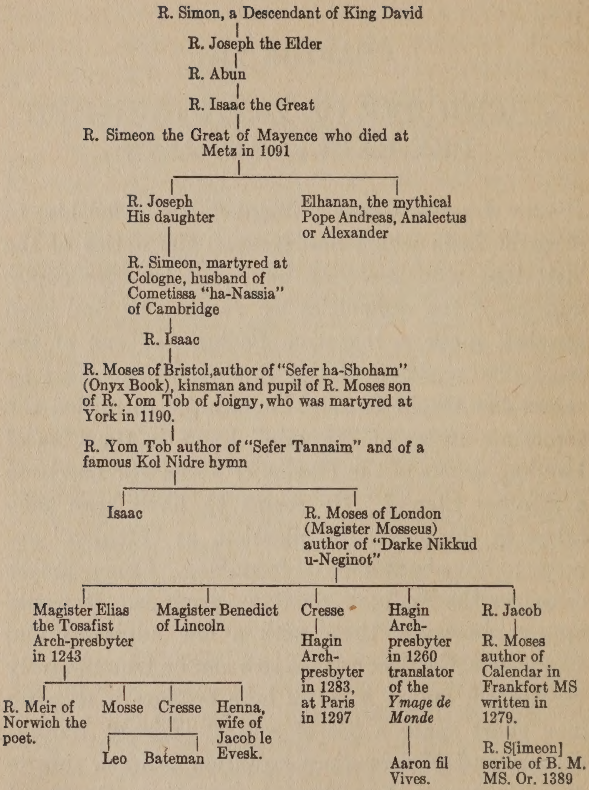
Jews could not hold lands, but in this book of Lord Ashburnham's are instances to the contrary." After the Expulsion, lands are referred to as belonging to Isaac or Cypore (Zipporah) his mother. "Jues Mede" —Jews' Meadow—at Camberwell, like "Old Jewry" and "Jewin Street" and Jews' Garden in Cowcross St. near Farringdon Street E. C., did not lose their name when England expelled her Jews.

In 1287 the whole community were again arrested and fined £12,000—a huge sum which they could not pay—and so, in 1288, King Edward expelled the Jews from Gascony and two years later from England. Hagin himself left London in advance of his congregation, and we find him in Paris in 1297. The real cause of the expulsion was the impoverishment of the Jews and their consequent uselessness to the King. The ostensible cause is attributed by the records to their evasion of the usury law "De Judaismo", and by Graetz to the Queen mother Eleanor, who, at the instigation of the Dominicans, infuriated by their failure to convert the Jews, persuaded her son to banish them. Either is just as likely a reason as Prynne's. He charges it to their crime of coin clipping. That, by the bye, is a cause suggested also by Meir b. Baruk ha-Levi, who flourished 1360 to 1390. The real reason was, probably, an economic one. Jews could no longer act as financiers, they were not allowed to become agriculturists or traders, for they could not own land or obtain admission to a trade guild. They had no means any longer of supporting themselves. Impoverished, they were no more of use to the King.

CHAPTER VIII

A PEDIGREE OF DISTINGUISHED PRE-EXPULSION JEWS

Joseph Jacobs, whose brilliant flair enabled him to discover facts which had escaped the notice of the historians who preceded him, and to offer explanations of the difficulties by which they had been puzzled, made a tentative Pedigree of one of the most distinguished of the English Jews. This he called the Hagin Family, because he identified the sometime owner of "Huggin" Lane, in the City of London, as one of the Hagins or Vives who had been a member thereof. He seems to have been mistaken in this local identification, as "Huggin" appears to have been derived from Hog. Canon Stokes criticizes the Pedigree on other grounds. It would appear, however, that, with a few additions and alterations, the Jacobs Pedigree can be triumphantly vindicated, and it is given here because it supplies in a short space a list of several eminent Rabbis, authors and officials of pre-expulsion London. Moreover it connects them through Cometissa (Countess) of Cambridge, with one of the most important of the Jewish families in history, which traced its descent back to King David.



- R. Simon, a Descendant of King David
  - R. Joseph the Elder
    - R. Abun
      - R. Isaac the Great
        - R. Simeon the Great of Mayence who died at Metz in 1091
          - R. Joseph His daughter
            - R. Simeon, martyred at Cologne, husband of Cometissa "ha-Nassia" of Cambridge
              - R. Isaac
                - R. Moses of Bristol, author of "Sefer ha-Shoham" (Onyx Book), kinsman and pupil of R. Moses son of R. Yom Tob of Joigny, who was martyred at York in 1190.
                  - R. Yom Tob author of "Sefer Tannaim" and of a famous Kol Nidre hymn
                    - Isaac
                    - R. Moses of London (Magister Mosseus) author of "Darke Nikkud u-Neginot"
                      - Magister Elias the Tosafist Arch-presbyter in 1243
                        - R. Meir of Norwich the poet.
                        - Mosse
                        - Cresse
                          - Leo
                          - Bateman
                        - Henna, wife of Jacob le Evesk.
                      - Magister Benedict of Lincoln
                      - Cresse
                        - Hagin Arch-presbyter in 1283, at Paris in 1297
                      - Hagin Arch-presbyter in 1260 translator of the *Ymage de Monde*
                        - Aaron fil Vives.
                      - R. Jacob
                        - R. Moses author of Calendar in Frankfort MS written in 1279.
                          - R. S[imeon] scribe of B. M. MS. Or. 1389
          - Elhanan, the mythical Pope Andreas, Analectus or Alexander

All the persons in this Pedigree are to be traced in Hebrew sources or English records, and the more distinguished in both. The "Nassia" family, named after their ancestress ha-Nassia,[1] (=Cometissa) comprise several notables, who are described as of places outside London. No doubt they were "called" to the provinces to officiate as rabbis and then, as in the analogous case of an English bishop, adopted the name of the place over the community of which they presided. Thus, the Cometissa's grandson Rabbi Moses is known as Moses of Bristol, though he may have previously been a Londoner and perhaps called Moses of London. His *Onyx Book* was edited by Mr. G. W. Collins and contains valuable notes as to London Nakdanim or Masorites.[37]

In the thirteenth century there were not as many Jewish authors as in the preceding one, but some there were, who evidently had considerable intercourse with Christian scholars. Of these last, Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253), Bishop of Lincoln, were the most distinguished. Bacon was himself a good Hebraist, as has been pointed out by Dr. S. A. Hirsch.[38] He objected to translations and insisted that the proper way of learning Greek and Hebrew was by taking instruction from Greeks and Jews—"Jews," he said, "were to be found everywhere." He says of Michael Scott, the translator of Aristotle, that his translations were for the most part the work of a certain Jew, Andrew. No Jews of that name are recorded in England at that time, but he may have been an Italian visitor.

As we have seen from the Pedigree, Magister Mosseus of London, his sons, Magister Benedict of Lincoln and the two Arch-presbyters, Magister Elias and Hagin the first, and his grandsons, the Archpresbyter Hagin the second, the poet Meir of Norwich and Moses, the astronomer, were the chief English representatives of literature and science in that century, which was followed, as in the days of the Exodus, by a banishment of nearly four hundred years. Moses b. Yom Tob of London, a great Masorite who wrote on *Neginot* or Melodies, seems to have been the first of Anglo-Jewish musicians. His book was called "Darke Nikkud u-Neginot."

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[37] Sefer Haššoham, Trübner, London, 1882.

[38] A Book of Essays (London 1905), pp. 1–72.

R. Jacob ben Judah Hazzan (or Reader),[39] "Presbyter" of London, the son of R. Jacob le Long, is the author of a notable work written shortly before the Expulsion. This is the " 'Ez Hayim,"[40] which reproduces the *Get* (Divorce) of Gamaliel, called Deulecres, son of R. Isaac of London, from his wife Belaset daughter of R. Aaron. The divorce is given at "Londres" situated on the Thames and "Wall Brook", and is dated the 28th of Nisan 1287. In the Records of the Exchequer of the Jews, we find mention of this husband, as of Oxford in 1268 and of Lincoln in 1274. The book frequently refers to the *Minhag* or custom of England and proves that the community for whom it was compiled were not, even in those times, exclusively addicted to commercial pursuits. Already in the previous century, the historian R. Abraham b. David had included the Jews in England as types of the orthodoxy of the

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[39] In an edict of Frederick III in 1364 we find "presbiter seu chassen judeus," showing that the two terms were synonymous.

[40] MS. Adler, 4055–7. See Professor David Kaufmann's article in the Jewish Quarterly Review, III, 20, seqq.

Diaspora.[41] Some there were who devoted themselves to the Torah and Hebrew Literature. One quaint detail, mentioned in the " 'Ez Hayim," throws a side light on the Sabbath meal of those times. Kasher wine was not then, it is not even now, particularly plentiful in London, and so our author says in the name of an English rabbi (perhaps R. Josce ben R. Peter), "We in England, where wine is not abundantly to be found, just taste a little from the Kiddush cup, and when we want to make another blessing, we add a little fresh wine to what remains." From the same book we learn that, unlike the French Jews, it was a custom among those of England to fast on Saturday afternoon; another proof, says Kaufmann[42], of English "independence in ritual matters." Perhaps the author was the translator of the Haggadah into the Anglo-Norman vernacular, above attributed to the Arch-presbyter Jacob of London. A Jacob of London is recorded as of 1250 in the Calendar of Inquisitions, Miscel. Chancery, 1916, vol. I, p. 92.

The compilation of the " 'Ez Hayim" seems to have been the last literary effort of the harassed London Jews. There are copious records of the Jews in 1286 preserved at the Record Office, Westminster Abbey, Canterbury Cathedral and elsewhere. In the following year the community was put under arrest and fined £12,000. It could no longer raise such a sum and in 1290 Edward I banished them from his realms.

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[41] See Krauss: Byzantinisch-Jüdische Geschichte, p. 78.
[42] Jewish Quarterly Review, VI, 755.

Perhaps their exile was a blessing in disguise, for feudal England had no place for Jews. The Wars of the Roses might have been to them more devastating than the Barons' Wars, and Tudor kings more cruel than the Plantagenets.

Some favored London Jews received timely warning of the expulsion from their royal patrons, and were able to realize their property and cross the Channel a year or two in advance of the general body. Thus Prince Edmund gave license to his Jew, Aaron son of Vives, "to sell his houses and rents as well in the City of London as elsewhere to any Christian he chooses." So the Arch-presbyter Kok Hagin, "Jew of the King's Consort" Queen Eleanor, may sell "the houses he has by feoffment of Robert de Basinges" in Basinghall Street, and Antera, the widow of Vives fil Magister Mosse, her house in Catte Street. All three leave the country before 1290 and their property does not figure in any of the 24 escheats to the Crown recorded as of that date.

Quite recently a young and promising writer has written a play called *The King's Jewry*,[43] dealing with the Expulsion. The whole action takes place in a single setting within twenty-four hours. The scene is a narrow street in the London Jewry. The hero is Eleazar—a tall man in the prime of life, who "wears the King's mantle" and is evidently intended to represent the Arch-presbyter Elias. King Edward is presented as a chivalrous and high-minded monarch, whose hand is forced by the popular feeling against usury and who expels the Jews for their own good.

[43] By Halcott Glover (Bloomsbury Press, 1921).

CHAPTER IX

SYNAGOGUES: JEWISH SOCIAL STATUS AND APPEARANCE

PRE-EXPULSION SYNAGOGUES

THERE were many synagogues[44] in the London Jewry before the Expulsion and we know that they were round in form[44a] and probably of stone. Every Jew of distinction would appear to have had his own synagogue,[45] and there were 2,000 Jews recorded as living in London in 1241.[46] Ten years before that date, a synagogue was built in Threadneedle Street, opposite the Royal Exchange, which a contemporary chronicler Matthew Paris says, surpassed in magnificence any London church. In 1263 it was badly damaged during the anti-Jewish riots and, shortly after, it was confiscated by Henry III and presented by him to the Brethren of St. Anthony of Vienna and called St. Anthony's Hospital.

These riots of 1263, during the Barons' Wars, when Simon de Montfort and the "Commoners" occupied London, were veritable pogroms, in which nearly two hundred Jews were killed. Among the victims was Cok (=Isaac) fil Abraham, who was one of the richest men of the community and, in 1256, had paid King Henry III 2,000 marks on succeeding to Abraham's property.

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[44] See the Revd. D. Wasserzug's article in the Jewish Chronicle, 15.8.02.

[44a] Stow, ed. Thomas, p. 108.

[45] Peckham's Register II, Letter 316.

[46] 'Emek ha-Baka, p. 41, refers to that year the love affair of a Jewish maiden with a monk and the consequent Jewish persecution.

Another old synagogue was situated at the Gresham Street corner of Old Jewry and Lothbury, in the house of Cresse fil Moses,[47] son, brother and father of Arch-presbyters. That synagogue also was damaged during the 1263 riots and it was closed nine years later because its next door neighbors, the "Friars of the Sack," complained that "they were not able to make the body of Christ in quiet because of the howling of the Jews" during their synagogue service. Cresse's synagogue was removed to Gresham Street, where the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency's office now stands. The Friars were themselves ejected by Lord Fitzwalter in 1305 and Grocers' Hall now covers the site of the Fitzwalter family mansion, while that of Cresse's first synagogue is occupied by the National Provincial Bank. Another synagogue occupied the present site of St. Stephens Church. A fifth synagogue was, in 1190, superseded by the Church of St. Mary Colechurch in Gresham Street. This was formerly the residence of Abraham fil Rabbi, who lived next the house of the famous Thomas a Becket. His sister dedicated it to religious uses.

The social status of the Jew in Angevin England was far superior to that of the Russian and Roumanian Jew in our own times. He was received in Christian houses and welcomed them in his own. Scholars of both religions learnt one from the other. Jewish marriages were looked upon as legal and entitled the widow to dower and the children to heirship, subject of course to death dues, which, heavy though they have been regarded by historians, would be regarded as trifling by the present generation.

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[47] Watney, p. 256.

The Pipe Rolls of Angevin England throw considerable light on the status of the Jew of the time, and the first recorded list of London Jews occurs in 1192 in a Pipe Roll of the third year of King Richard.[48] We find here references to Jewish medical men, scribes, priests and even members of the Civil Service of the Middle Ages, if we are to accept Peter Blund, the Chancellor's Marshall, as a Jew, as Leo Blund undoubtedly was. Most remarkable of all is Ysaac of Berdefeld in Essex, who is described as "magister puerorum," a schoolmaster who owed ten shillings for talliage in 1191 and 1192. "Were there such schools," asks the Times reviewer, "in every county, in every town of size in the mid-twelfth century?"[49] We read of a Jewish school at Norwich at the south end of the synagogue. And we find in the British Museum a record of the "Great School of the Jews" (Magna Schola Judaeorum) at Ironmonger Lane in the City of London.[50] From the records we know that the Jews were not only such professional men but also, especially in agricultural centers such as Lincoln, dealers in corn, wool and vegetables.

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[48] "The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the Third and Fourth Years of the Reign of King Richard the First," Lincoln, for the Pipe Roll Society, 1927.

[49] B. M. Add., MS. 4542.

[50] Boase, "Oxford," p. 23.

In Angevin England, as in modern times, it remains untrue that Jews were nothing but money lenders.

The following picture from Sir Walter Scott's famous crusader novel *Ivanhoe* describes a Jewish home under Richard I. It is not the less true, that it is painted by one who combined the imagination of a poet with the careful precision of an archaeologist.

"In an apartment, small indeed but richly furnished with decorations of an oriental taste, Rebecca was seated on a heap of embroidered cushions, which, piled along a low platform that surrounded the chamber, served like the estrade of the Spaniards, instead of chairs and stools. She was watching the motions of her father, with a look of anxious and filial affection, while he paced the apartment with a dejected mien and disordered step, sometimes clasping his hands together, sometimes casting his eyes to the roof of the apartment, as one who labored under great mental tribulation. "O, Jacob", he exclaimed, "O, all ye twelve Holy Fathers of our tribe, what a losing venture is this for one who has duly kept every jot of the law of Moses, fifty zeechins wrenched from me at one clutch, and by talons of a tyrant."

"But, father", said Rebecca, "you seemed to give the gold to Prince John willingly."

"Willingly, the blotch of Egypt upon him, willingly, saidst thou? Ay, as willingly as when, in the Gulf of Lyons, I flung over my merchandize to lighten the ship while she labored in the tempest—robed the seething billows in my choice silks—perfumed their briny foam with myrrh and aloes—enriched their caverns with gold and silver work. And was not that an hour of unutterable misery, though my own hands made the sacrifice?"

"But it was a sacrifice which Heaven exacted to save our lives", answered Rebecca, "and the God of our fathers has since blessed your store and your gettings."

"Ay", answered Isaac, "but if the tyrant lays hold on them as he did to-day, and compels me to smile while he is robbing me? O, daughter, disinherited and wandering as we are, the worst evil which befalls our race is, that, when we are wronged and plundered, all the world laughs around, and we are compelled to suppress our sense of injury, and to smile tamely when we would revenge bravely."

"Think not thus of it, my father", said Rebecca. "We also have advantages. These Gentiles, cruel and oppressive as they are, are in some sort dependent on the dispersed children of Zion, whom they despise and persecute. Without the aid of our wealth they could neither furnish their hosts in war nor their triumphs in peace; and the gold which we lend them returns with increase to our coffers. We are like the herb which flourisheth most when it is most trampled on. Even this day's pageant had not proceeded without the consent of the despised Jew, who furnished the means."

It cannot, of course, be denied that many of the prominent Jews of pre-expulsion England were money lenders. But they were not greedy, grasping, heartless usurers of the ordinary type depicted in the anti-

Semitic drama. Historians such as J. R. Green and the Rev. C. W. Boase take a far broader view. "The Jews", says the latter, "were the capitalists of the middle ages; it was their loans that enabled castle and abbey and cathedral to be built or restored . . . But the Jews did more than lend money or build stone houses, for with the Jewish settlement began the cultivation of physical science. Some students (at Oxford) could learn Hebrew; and the Hebrew books which he found among the rabbis were the means by which Roger Bacon penetrated to the older world of research. A medical school which we find established in the twelfth century[51], can hardly have been other than Jewish."

Neubauer questions whether Jews were then preeminent in medicine, but his doubts seem misplaced when we find, after the expulsion, Jewish physicians permitted to return to England in order to treat Christian patients.

The language these pre-expulsion Jews talked was Norman French, and a letter of 1280 from Maistre Elyas to Robert Burnell, the king's Chancellor, Bishop of Bath and Wells, is extant and has been published,[52] which shows their style. This was an application for leave to go, with his "Ju" Abraham Mutun, to Flanders to give medical advice to Jean d'Avesnes, Count of Flanders. Leave was granted, as appears from Letters Patent 8 Edw. I, M. 22, No. 11. The visit was successful, the Count survived till 1304, Elias returned safe and sound to England, but was exiled with the rest in 1290. The names of the pre-expulsion Jews of England were French, when they were not Hebrew. Those of the women sound very picturesque, such as Chere, Beleasez or Belaset, Dona, Antera, Gentil, Muriel, Mirabilla, Jessica = Yiscah, Precieuse, Reina and Riche. Often they had double names, one for the market and one for the synagogue. Thus Amiot was equated with Moses, Cress with Yom Tob, Deulecress with Joseph, but sometimes Solomon and sometimes Gamaliel; Hagin (= Hayyim) with Vives, Diaie with Eleazar, Mulgin with Samuel, Copin with Jacob (cp. Koppel) and Cok with Isaac (pronounced in Hebrew Yizhak).

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[51] See Revue des Etudes Juives, XVIII, 256; Public Record Office: Royal Letters, Nos. 5769–71.

[52] Stokes, Jews in England, p. 198.

The London Jewry, besides Synagogue, School, Bath and Well (?Bakewell = bath well) and Cemetery, had also their Hospital and probably a house for recreation and dancing. Their personal appearance was rather prepossessing than otherwise. The English Jew of the time was in no way to be distinguished from the French. As we have seen, the French Jews, after their temporary expulsion from France in 1182, crossed over to England and some of the most distinguished French rabbis became welcome and honored members of the London Community. But caricatures are even more characteristic than portraits, and the caricatures of pre-expulsion Jews do not show much to differentiate them from the modern idea of the Hebrew type. The aquiline nose is the prominent feature in old as in modern times. But there does appear to have been a difference. Less than twenty years after the expulsion, Piers Gaveston calls the Earl of Pembroke "Joseph the Jew" because he was pale and tall.[53] In the first volume of Pike's *History of Crime in England* a caricature of Avigay, daughter of Dyrya, is reproduced, which was drawn at the top of an Exchequer Roll, now at the Record Office in Chancery Lane. Isaac of Norwich, one of the richest men of his day, figures in a triangular picture of a kind of Jewish play also at the Record Office. At the apex of the triangle, he is depicted in caricature with a triple head covered by a crown. A journal of his monetary transactions for the year 1225–1227 is also extant. Most of the surnames of the Jews of Angevin England show personal characteristics unexpected by those familiar with the stage tradition of the Ghetto "Pollak", with the Fagins or even the Shylocks or Potash and Perlmutter. The "Lenguser" or "Lelongs" were tall men, the "Le Blunds" of fair complexion, and the "le Gros" fat, but there were also dark people like the "le Bruns". And, of course, we find individuals with nicknames drawing unkind notice to some defect as with "Mosse cum Naso" ("Nosey Moses"), "Deudone cum pedibus tortis" ("Bandy legged Deudone"), "Manasser Grassus" ("Fat Manasseh"), and so on.[53]

Reference has been made to some artistic leanings on the part of the early English Jews shown in the miniatures and illuminations displayed in a few of their surviving manuscripts. One such Jew seems to have been a painter of repute. Just before his accession to the throne, Edward the First had a vision that to secure success in life, he must obtain for St. Mary in All-Hallows Church a picture of the Virgin. After searching throughout the country, it was found that there was no painter so skilled as Marlibrun (or Meir le Brun) the Jew of Billingsgate.[54] The Jew duly painted the picture, and it remained in the Church as an object of pilgrimage till the days of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas More witnesses that "our citizens' wives of London imagine that our Lady's picture near the Tower doth smile upon them as they pray before it."

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[53] Jacobs, Jews of Angevin England, 371.

Among the silver pennies coined between 1190 and 1205 many are inscribed with what seem to be Jewish names. Thus for London we have "Beneit or Lunde" and "Davi on Lund", apparently Benedict and David. Although we find their names in the Anglo-Jewish records for 1160 and 1186, they do not appear to have been "monetarii", or licensed to mint money, and therefore Jacobs hesitates to identify the coiners as Jews. Inasmuch, however, as the Jews were so severely punished for coin clipping or defacing His Majesty's coinage, it is quite likely that their crime was just that they did issue coins, struck by them without the King's license, and that their handiwork still survives in our museums.

The "starrs" often throw suggestive side-lights on the manner of living at the time. Thus, in 1275, we read of Abraham the son of Deulecresse of Norwich having lodged with his servant and a boy and two horses at the house of one Isabel. She sues him and claims £19 for board and lodging for 17 weeks and £21, the value of jewels intrusted by her to him. The case comes before the Exchequer of the Jews, but Abraham having "made his Law single-handed on his Book of the Jewish Law" (i.e. sworn on the *Sefer Torah* repudiating the claim), is acquitted[55].

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[54] Myer Davis in Jewish Chronicle of June 1901, "An Anglo-Jewish Painter A.D. 1270."

In 1278, Hak of Canterbury and Abraham of Dorking are charged with the murder of Matthew of Ockham killed in St. Lawrence Lane in the London Jewry. It appears that Matthew was going by night along the Lane when "malefactors sprang upon him and wounded him; and though he lived for three weeks after, and was often asked by his friends and neigbours, who were they that thus sprang upon him, he confessed, that he knew nought thereof." They too were acquitted.[56] Still more interesting is the story of resolutions come to by the community of the Jews of Canterbury in 1266 as to their guidance. It was probably not a unique instance and may have followed a London precedent. The document is a "starr" signed and sealed by Master Moses (evidently the local rabbi) and sixteen other communal representatives. They undertake under oath that "no Jew of any other town than Canterbury shall dwell in the town, to wit, no liar, improper person and slanderer."

A deed of 1271, still extant in London, records a betrothal contract between Benjamin the son of

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[55] Rigg, Select Pleas, p. 86.
[56] Ibid., p. 106.

Josce Jechiel and Belaset daughter of Rabbi Benedict. Belaset contracts to give her daughter in marriage to Benjamin's son Aaron, settling upon her 40 marks, of which twenty are to be given Benjamin for investment. What is still more interesting, she promises to give Judith, as an heirloom, her masoretic Hebrew Bible Manuscript. As the children are still too young to marry, Benjamin is to take charge of the Bible until the wedding, but to use it for the instruction of both. Benjamin is to give the couple £20 when they marry, together with the accrued interest on the 40 marks. He is also to provide them both thereout with wedding apparel and Sabbath and week-day clothing and a grand wedding feast. The wedding is fixed for the month of Adar 1275. This was a real rabbinical match, for Josce Jechiel and two of Benedict's brothers and his nephew were Arch-presbyters in the thirteenth century.

There was frequent intercourse between Jew and Christian. One of the most striking references occurs in Peace's story of *Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster*.[57] Here we are told how the Jewish financier, Thomas Romain, dines with the Abbot and is presented by him with robes. But it is only fair to add that a reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* throws doubt on the Judaism of the Abbot's guest.

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[57] London, S.P.C.K. 1920.

CHAPTER X

FATE OF THE EXILES AND THEIR MANUSCRIPTS

On the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, sixteen thousand Jews are said to have left the island, but many perished on the way. Some 2000 went to Flanders, Brabant and Guelderland. More went to the borderland between Flanders and France—the March of the Ardennes—or Danemarcia, which is not Denmark.

Some Jews were exceptionally favored and allowed to tarry a little. This, we are told, happened to Bonamiens, the son of Josce of Canterbury, and a man of much property, When the Jews were "transported from the kingdom," King Edward, by writ addressed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of York, ordered that no molestation was to be offered to Bonamiens, his wife, children and domestics so long as they remained there. And "even if they delayed their embarcation, they were still to have safe conduct and protection." He did not stay long, for in 1291, John Romaine, Archbishop of York, was held at the king's mercy for having compounded with Bonamiens, then resident in Paris, for a debt of £300, owing by the Priory of Bridlington, with intent to defraud the king.[58]

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[58] See Robert Davies, "The Mediaeval Jews of York," reprinted from the "Yorkshire Archaeological Journal."

There may have been some Jews who stayed over in East Anglia after the date of the expulsion, but there is no record of any such. And it must be taken as only an amiable wish that fathers the boast of Mr. A. M. Samuel, a prominent Jewish M. P., once Lord Mayor of Norwich, and a member of a Conservative government, that his family had remained in Norwich as conforming Jews throughout the dark ages between Edward I and Cromwell.

Most of the exiles went to France, by way of London and the Cinque Ports. We find records of safe conduct to such Jews in July and August of the fateful year. After that date, most of the references in the records are to the property of the Jews, but not to their persons. In 1296 we come across English Jews in Calais,[59] Amiens and Vesoul. In Paris we have, in 1292, thirteen entries of English Jews there and eight more in 1296.[60] They could not, however, stay long in France, whence the Jews were banished in 1306. After this, they are to be found across the Rhine and the Saone in the Holy Roman Empire, Lorraine, Burgundy, Savoy and Dauphiné—mostly lands now known as Germany and Switzerland. Many crossed the Rhone and found refuge in Rousillon and Provence, Avignon, Arles, Marseilles and the Riviera. Thence they wandered into Catalonia, Spain, North Africa, Egypt and Palestine. We can trace their route by that of the distinguished French writers who have left biographical details about themselves such as Estori, Farchi, and Joseph Caspi.[61]

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[59] Revue des Etudes Juives, XLII, 106, 286.

[60] Revue des Etudes Juives, I, 66; XIV, 170; XXVIII, 165; XXXVIII, 242; XLIII, 298; where the English Jews include Cok Hagin.

Those that escaped to the Rhineland left records of their martyred ancestors in the German "Memor Books." But even in these southern German towns they were persecuted, and so they migrated across the German borders into the land of the Teutonic Knights, Poland and Lithuania. One of the English exiles to Egypt can be traced in the famous hoard of Hebrew manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah, from which emerged a Latin title deed of the Monastery of St. Mary and the Holy Angels at Aldefelde (Oldfield).

Many deeds written and signed by London Jews are at Westminster Abbey and the Record Office and Mercers Hall and a few in Canterbury Cathedral. Among those at Westminster is a "starr" of 1267, being a deed of gift of property at Lincoln from Magister Benedict the son of Magister Mosse to his son Vives. Mosse was the famous Rabbi Moses of London, the author to whom reference has already been made. Benedict is Rabbi Berechiah Nakdan, whom Joseph Jacobs identified with the great folklorist, whose fables and other works are still popular.

Some of the books of pre-expulsion Jews of England are still extant. They have suffered a fate similar to that of their possessors. Some MSS. remained in England and are still to be seen in the

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[61] See Profiat Duran of Perpignan's מאמר זכרון השמדות, written in 1391.

University and College Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge and in the British Museum, London.[62] Handsome and bulky folios these; smaller treasures the exiles could carry away with them. One of the most interesting is the Cottonian MS. of the Fables of Bidpai and of Berechiah b. Natronai, whose identification with Benedict le Puncteur, Professor Sir Herman Gollancz disputed.

The manuscript is a miscellany and also includes a Glossary of Norman-French, Latin and Hebrew. It is in the Bodleian Library (Bodl. Or. 135), and is one of the few treasures of pre-expulsion Jews, which have remained in the same spot throughout the centuries, notwithstanding the exile.

A British Museum manuscript (MS. Or. 1389) was written in England and, carried away with them by the exiles in 1290, found its way into Italy in the fifteenth century, was in Frankfort in 1856, and was sold by Carmoly of Brussels to the British Museum about 1880, thus finding its way back into England after sojournings of six centuries on the Continent.

It is a sort of theological commonplace book of 111 chapters with copious extracts from Midrashim, of which some are no longer extant. It quotes Saadia and Rashi and amongst others R. Joseph of Bristol and M B I N. Professor Marmorstein[63] ingeniously suggests that this very MS. may be the "Sefer Tannaim" of which R. Yom Tob ben R.

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[62] MS. Or. 1389. See Jewish Quarterly Review, IX, 26 (1924); cp. M. J. W. 7 (1854), p. 104.

[63] Jewish Chronicle, 26 Sep., 1924.

Moses of Bristol was the author, and that M B I N was Moses b. Isaac Nassia, the author of the *Onyx Book*. The Scribe is S.B.M.H., who, it is suggested, may be Simon or Samuel the son of Moses ha-Nassia, the author of the 1279 calendar.

A manuscript of the *Onyx Book* and two other grammatical treatises, Ibn Ezra's "Safah Berurah" and the "Ma'aneh", whose author was perhaps also an English Jew, is in the Madrid Library. The scribe wrote them at "Bris," probably Bristol, in 1230 and 1264. His name is Solomon ben Joseph ben Job ha-Sefardi, and he is son perhaps of the R. Joseph of Bristol quoted in the British Museum MS. Or. 1389. We find a Solomon son of Josce of Wilton (between Salisbury and Bristol) and his brother Isaac referred to in Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews in 1244–5 and 1268,[64] and a Josce gener Joie, probably his father, in the Northampton Donum of 1194.[65] We may therefore assume that here we have a treasure of Anglo-Jewry which after the expulsion has found its way to Spain. The surname "Sefardi" might suggest a Spanish origin for the manuscript, but it is easier to assume that a man of Spanish origin came to England, as Ibn Ezra did, than that English grammars had reached Spain so early.

The "Ma'aneh" may perhaps be the grammar of R. Samuel ha-Nakdan of Bristol (MS. Berlin Q 647 118). In 1260 R. Samuel pointed a Masoretic Bible, now at St. Johns College, Cambridge.

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[64] Rigg, pp. 73, 107, 207.
[65] Jacobs, p. 357.

At Leipsic the unique manuscript of the English Service Book " 'Ez Hayim" above referred to was identified by David Kaufmann a few years ago. A copy of this is now at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.[66]

The Frankfort Mahzor, with its nine generations of English Jews, written between 1279 and 1295 and the basis of our Pedigree, got to Abensberg, Bavaria, in 1438. It contains a poem of Joseph b. Jacob Morel, the pupil and friend of Abraham Ibn Ezra. At Frankfort too is a beautiful Bible Codex[67] completed at Brussels by Isaac ben Elia le Chantre of Oxford, which Kennicott collated. It has a picture of Samson with his hand in the lion's mouth. No doubt Isaac was thinking of Richard Coeur de Lion when he made his drawing and the poor exiled artist could not forget that he was an Englishman. Even in the seventeenth century the famous Joseph del Medigo refers to French and English Manuscripts he had seen in the Isle of Crete. The "Rama" (R. Moses Isserles, 1520–72) refers to Mahzorim brought over from England to France in the twelfth century and to R. Jacob of London's translation of the Haggadah, and Ephraim of Bonn (1133–1196) tells that many fine books were looted after the York massacres in 1190 and sold at Cologne.[68]

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[66] MS. Adler 4055–7.

[67] An heirloom which has been for generations in the family of Mr. Leo Goldschmidt. See Jewish Quarterly Review, III, 555 and 776.

[68] See Jacobs, p. 340, quoting Zunz, Ritus, p. 62 (not 52). In the Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society, I, 8, Schechter quotes a poem on the "Martyrs of the Isles of the Sea," who were victims of the massacres in London and York in 1190.

At Westminster Abbey, at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at Corpus College, Oxford, are three copies of a Hebrew Bible with interlinear Latin translation written by pre-expulsion Jews, perhaps from an original belonging to Aaron of Lincoln.

This list may, and no doubt will, hereafter be extended. It gives an indication of the fate as well of the manuscripts as of their owners, writers, copyists. A pleasing conclusion to the story is provided by a Commentary on Mishnah Zera'im written in England in the thirteenth century, used by the famous author of the "Tosafot Yom Tob" at Brest in Lithuania or Cracow at the end of the sixteenth century, now happily one of the treasures of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XI

JEWS IN LONDON AFTER THE EXPULSION

MANY of the English exiles must, for a time, have cherished the hope of being able to return to England and many of them stayed in the Channel towns for a while before wandering further afield. And there was some ground for such a hope.

In 1305 we find it recorded[68] that Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln was in the King's service in France... "for the establishment of peace between the King and the King of France." The peace eventuated, and with it there seems to have been a transitory change for the better in the prospects of the English exiles. Even the Pope seems to have been more tolerantly inclined than his predecessors. In 1307, Clement V "thinks that the Talmud should be studied," and accordingly recommends the Universities of Paris, Salamanca, Bologna and Oxford to establish chairs of Hebrew, Chaldaic and Arabic. The suggestions of His Holiness were regarded as commands and, in England at least, strictly obeyed.

Negotiations seem to have been started with a view to the repatriation of the exiles and even the admission into England of their co-religionists, who had been banished from France in 1306.

On the 17th December, 1309, a safe conduct was

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[69] Calendar Chancery Rolls Various, 1277–1326, p. 377.

granted till Whit-Sunday for "Master Elias" the Jew, crossing by the King's command from Brabant to England.[70] In the same year six Jews came to London soliciting leave to dwell in England. One of their number was a physician.[71] This Elias may have been an English Jew, but scarcely the former Arch-presbyter of that name. Perhaps he was a physician, whom the King wished to consult about his health, or perhaps Heliot of Vesoul, the leading Jew of North East France, whose goods were confiscated by Philip V, on the expulsion of French Jews in 1321.

Another record[72] has all the elements of a romance. Isaac the Jew, probably an English Jew settled in Palestine, undertook to collect the ransom of an English knight, who was sent back home, released on parole. Despite the ferocity of the times, chivalry was not dead and there is a refreshing air of confidence each in the other. What were Isaac's feelings when he returned to Stangrove? Was it only for the ransom that he risked the perilous voyage, or was it in the hope of recovering some of the property he and his brothers had abandoned some thirty years before? Was it in order to trace some of his less staunch relatives, who had stayed behind, as *Anusim*—secret Jews conforming outwardly to Christianity? Or was it in order to persuade the King to recall the English Jews as a body? As to motives the record is silent; all it tells is:—

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[70] Cal. Patent Rolls, Edw. II, 1307–1313, and Wolf, Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, p. 57.

[71] M. Davis in Jewish Chronicle 5, 1, 1894.

[72] Cal. Patent Rolls (1317–1321), p. 254.

"Safe conduct for Roger de Stanegrave, Knight of St. John, having been taken prisoner in the Holy Land and long detained in captivity is coming to England to raise his ransom and is accompanied by Isaac to whom he was demised for a certain sum and who will remain in his train until satisfied in that sum."

In 1312, Roger le Jew is recorded as the owner of a manor.[73] In 1319 William le Jew of Coker goes to Gascony on the King's service and a little later Thomas le Jew and William le Jew are granted safe conduct on going beyond the seas.[74] Some of these were doubtless conforming Jews, though of such there are but few traces.

During the troublous times which fell upon the communities in the thirteenth century there were, not unnaturally, some of the weaker brethren who relapsed from Judaism. We have already mentioned the case of Benedict of York, who was caught as he fled from the rioters at the King Richard's coronation and "to escape death was compelled to confess Christ", and being led into the Church was baptized on the spot. He repented on the very next day and the King allowed him to revert to Judaism. Others were not so fortunate. After the alleged martyrdom of Hugh of Lincoln in 1256—the subject of Chaucer's *Prioress' Tale* — which spread consternation throughout the English Jewries—the Jewish quarter in Lincoln was sacked, their books seized and their charter destroyed. Many Lincoln Jews were hanged for their supposed complicity in a crime which had never taken place, but it is significant that one John "the Convert" was pardoned. He, no doubt, saved his life by adopting Christianity.

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[73] Cal. Fine Rolls II (1307–1319), p. 198.
[74] Cal. Patent Rolls (1324–1327).

But there were also converts to Judaism. Thus we read of Jowret of Norwich who was fined no less than 6000 marks for marrying a Christian heiress Miryev, the daughter of Humphrey de Havile. Humphrey's lands were forfeited to the Crown in 1186, perhaps because, like his daughter, he became a Jew. In 1222 an Oxford ecclesiastic, or deacon, was degraded, handed over to the secular power and burnt alive, because he had fallen in love with a Jewess and became converted to Judaism. Wood in his *Annals* (I 34) talks of Jews enticing the young scholars of Oxford and the children of the inhabitants to be of their religion. It was perhaps for this reason that the Dominicans, who were, as will be remembered, the founders of the Inquisition, established themselves in the very heart of the Oxford Jewry and sought to convert the Jews to Christianity. Their efforts must have met with some success, because Henry III found it worth while to establish a "Domus Conversorum" or Home for Converts, on a site where the Upper Guildhall now stands.

After the expulsion, officially, no Jews were to be found in England. But the London "Domus Conversorum" in Chancery Lane, where the Record Office now stands, remained as a nucleus or meeting place for secret Jews, converted, like the Marranos, only in name. That Converts' Home was founded in 1232, nineteen years after that of Southwark. But prior to 1290 barely one hundred persons in all were there provided for, say about three in every two years. When, however, the expulsion took place, there was naturally a great influx of inmates and no less than eighty were on the books in that fateful year. Fifteen years later there were 23 men and 28 women. In 1330 eight men and 13 women. In 1353 only one inmate, a woman. In 1450 there were five converts and in 1500 four.[75]

Apart from these recognized converts, supported by the Treasury, many Jews must have stayed behind and conformed, more or less, to the religion of the country. The expulsion of 1290 cannot have effected a complete clearance of the Jews from England or even from London. Joseph ha-Cohen ha-Sefardi (1495–1550), who chronicled the sufferings of his co-religionists in the Middle Ages, says that many Jews were left in England and France after their expulsion had been decreed and he attributes to this very fact the inclination of the English and French to the Reformation of the Church. It is significant that he himself dates the final expulsion of the Jews from England as late as 1358.[76] "The Jews," he says, "who had sought to be again allowed to live in England, were hunted out of that cursed land in the year 5118 (=1358) and never returned there again." Professor Cunningham[77] claims that some Jews must have escaped the mesh even after that date.

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[75] See Michael Adler's paper in the Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc., IV.

[76] Joseph ha-Cohen's 'Emek ha-Baka, ed. Wiener, p. 54.

[77] "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," I, 324.

The most famous Jewish visitor to London of the time was Solomon Levi (1351–1435), known, after his conversion, as Paul de Burgos, a Spanish Archbishop. Shortly after 1390 he was in London, on state affairs, in connection, perhaps, with the marriage of John of Gaunt's daughter Catherine to Henry III, the son of Pedro the Cruel. In his satirical *Purim Epistle* he contrasts the dreariness of that festival in London with the revelry of Burgos. "Separated from the company of Israelites, I could not fulfil the duties incumbent even upon the individual, such as those that require the use of wine for Kiddush and Habdalah, at the entry and departure of the Sabbath. To-day, I am unable to drink deep, as one ought to do on Purim . . . The thought comes to me of the merry throngs who are to-day joyously celebrating the feast in Burgos . . . There poor and rich linger long over their wine . . . But me, alas, wine has left solitary."[78]

In the reign of Henry IV (1366–1431), there were at least three Jewish physicians,[79] who obtained safe conducts and visited England—Dr. Elias Sabot of Bologna, Dr. David di Nigarelli and Maistre Samson de Mierbeawe (Mirabeau?). The last named was summoned, in 1409, by the famous Dick Whittington, Lord Mayor of London, to the sick bed of his wife, the Lady Alice. Eighteen years later, in a list of the King's Christmas expenses, it is recorded that,[80] among the disbursements, were payments to some Jews of Abingdon for acting plays and interludes before the King, who was then a child of eight.

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[78] Israel Abrahams, Jewish Quarterly Review, XII, 257.

[79] Jewish Quarterly Review, XVIII, 141.

It has been suggested that "Jews" are here only "Joueurs" or "play-actors," but they might well have come from Provence, where many Jewish communities have existed throughout the Middle Ages. It will be remembered that Henry VI afterwards married the daughter of King Réné of Provence.

Dr. Cecil Roth, of Merton College, Oxford, has ingeniously identified, in one of the inmates of the Converts' Home, a man who played a prominent part in the political intrigues of the two following reigns. He is, perhaps, the first link with the Jews of Spain and Portugal, who were destined, under Cromwell, to re-establish the Jewish Community in London. Edward Brampton or Brandon, a native "Portugal," entered the "Domus Conversorum" in 1468. His Christian name he owed to King Edward IV, who was ex officio godfather to the converts baptized during his reign. He left the Domus in 1472, married a rich widow, became Governor of Guernsey in 1482 and was knighted in 1484.

On the accession of Henry VII he had to leave England and went to Portugal with Perkin Warbeck in his train. He returned to England in 1488, for in that year one Edward Brampton figures as an inmate of the Domus. In 1489 he was officially pardoned. Three years later Warbeck, calling himself Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV, landed in Ireland and, after sundry invasions of England, was captured in 1499 and executed along with the Earl of Warwick. And this Sir Edward Brampton was the "Jew whom well-informed historians charged with having primed the impostor with such minute details about the domestic life of his pretended father King Edward."

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[80] Rymer's Foedera, X, 387.

CHAPTER XII

JEWISH VISITORS IN TUDOR TIMES

THE establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1480, and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal a few years later, had a profound effect upon Jewish history and the distribution of Jews throughout the world. Those who were staunch in their faith left the Peninsula and came to Italy and France, to Antwerp and Amsterdam. Many crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and joined the Jewish communities in North Africa. Some must have crossed the English Channel and come to London.[81]

The less faithful preferred to stay in Spain, at the price of baptism. These new Christians, or Marranos as they were called, were always looked upon with disfavor and suspicion and much persecuted. After a hundred years or so they were glad to escape from the country in which their grandparents had been so anxious to remain. Some reached England, and it was perhaps due to their help that Hebrew was printed in England as early as 1525. The famous Erasmus was in England about this time and from the records[82] we learn of a letter written to him by Reuchlin from Frankfort in April 1514. The letter describes the persecutions raised against him because of his opinion written by command of the Emperor Maximilian, of the burning of Jewish books, and encloses the Pope's sentence, in order that, by Erasmus, his reputation may be vindicated in England against the book business.

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[81] Adler, Auto de Fé and Jew, p. 37.

[82] "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic": Henry VIII, Vol. I, part 2, 2855 (London, 1920).

The first of the wives of Henry VIII was a Spanish Princess, the grand-daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1530 Henry VIII sought to be divorced from her and the consequent proceedings made an enemy of Spain and led to the establishment of the Church of England. Jews in Venice, Bologna and Rome were consulted on the divorce case by Stokesley, the King's solicitor. Charles V is told how the King Henry has sent to Rome to bring over to London an old Jew to prove that the King's marriage to the betrothed of his deceased brother was unlawful[83] and another Jew was brought over from Venice for the same purpose.[84] Among the treasures of the British Museum is the expert opinion in Hebrew, of an Italian rabbi, obtained by the King.[85]

The latter half of the sixteenth century was characterized by an increasing interest in the Old Testament and its people. As Lucien Wolf has pointed out, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, which was the chief work of the Reformation, had made the Bible popular and the people clamored for a sequel. In Josippon, or the Hebrew pseudo-Josephus, they found such a sequel. Peter Morvyn accordingly translated it, probably from a Latin translation by Sebastian Münster in 1541 or a Judaeo-German translation which appeared in Zurich in 1546. Morvyn believed it to be the work of Josephus and, in 1558, published his translation as "this boke of Josephus". There were no less than ten editions between that date and 1615.

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[83] Cal. State Papers (Spanish), 1531–33, p. 535.
[84] ibid., p. 761.
[85] Ar. Or. 151; vide Revue des Etudes Juives, XXX, 309.

Directly based on the story told by Josephus is *The Tragedie of Mariam, the faire Queene of Jewry,* written by Lady Elizabeth Carew.[86]

In his *Schoole of Abuse* the critic and dramatist Stephen Gosson, in 1579, describes a lost play called *The Jew . . . showne at the Bull (Inn), representing the greedinesse of worldly chusers and bloody mindes of usurers.*

In 1662 there appeared a play called *The Jewes Tragedy,*[87] *or, their Fatal and Final overthrow by Vespasian and Titus his son according to the Authentick and Famous History of Josephus* . . . by William Hemings. The play belongs to a much earlier period, as Hemings was born in 1602. He was the son of Shakespeare's colleague and fellow actor and died many years before the play's publication.

With the straining of relations between England and Spain, the Inquisition was induced to ill-treat English subjects within their reach. These were mostly seamen adventuring on the Spain main, and many Lutherans and other Protestants were burnt at the stake. Throughout the Tudor period, Jews from Spain and Portugal, who, as Marranos, had already established commercial relations with England, came there to settle and practised their faith in secret. Theoretically any Jewish property was forfeit to the Crown, but in practice it was left unclaimed and the police and populace seem to have connived at the presence of Jewish aliens in their midst. Many Jewish refugees came from Spain to London as early as 1492, but in Elizabeth's time, the Marranos coming there lived in greater safety than in Spain.

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[86] T. Creede for R. Hawkins, London, 1613.

[87] See The Jewes Tragedy . . . . herausgegeben von H. A. Cohn, Louvain, 1913.

In the Acts of the Privy Council[88] mention is made of a "Dispute between the King and certeyne marchawntes strawngers probably suspected to be juis." These are later on described as "Portugalles suspected of Judaisme," and were ultimately, in 1542, declared to be Christian men. In 1543 we read of Portuguese Jews imprisoned in London and released by special requests of the King and Queen of Portugal.[89] Again one Henry Alveros or Alvaros (Alvarez?) is in 1546 able to disprove a similar charge, and, at a Council holden at Hampton Court, a man was purged of the charge of "defrauding the King's Majesty of his interest in the goods of Alveros in case he had been proved a Jewe." Alvarez was more fortunate than "Doctour Arnande" (Fernandez), who, in 1562, was tried by the Privy Council, "esteemed to be a Jewe and judged to ryde thrugh the streets in a carte"[90] by way of punishment and disgrace.

In Tudor times, and especially before the defeat of the Spanish Armada, foreigners were not welcome in England although, as Cunningham points out, London under Elizabeth had become a resort for merchants from the Continent. Strict official returns had to be made of all aliens and some are still preserved in the Record Office. Such returns were made in 1571 and 1573 by the Mayor and Aldermen of London, of all the strangers within London and Suffolk and the liberties thereof giving their names, nations, trades and the churches they attended. None are referred to as Jews, but among the few Spaniards and Portuguese in the list, we find Carvaly described as a hatmaker resident for twelve years in the parish of Creechurch, Aldgate, and a worshipper at the French Church. He is doubtless a Carvajal or Carvalho. Other names which point to Marranos are: de Pays (de Pass), Fernando (Fernandez), Ventura and Lucas. Lucas attended no place of worship, but the fact that the others called themselves of the French Church need not shock one over much. The Calvinist form of worship was less objectionable to the Marranos than even the Church of England and, besides, Huguenots, as religious refugees, were objects of special favor with Queen Elizabeth. The returns were doubtless made in connection with the Spanish difficulties, which culminated in the Grand Armada. After 1573 only one other such return, made, perhaps, with a similar object, is extant, that for the year 1618.

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[88] New Series, Vol. I., 1542–47, pp. 76, 94, 222, 294, 305–7.

[89] State Papers (Spanish), 1542–3, p. 270.

[90] Acts of Privy Council, 1547–50, p. 28.

In 1571 there were 4631 aliens, of whom 866 attended the Churches; 3643 were Dutch, 46 Spanniardes and seven Portugales. In 1573 there were only 4287, of whom 3160 were Dutch, 58 Spanniardes and three Portugales. The majority were Dutch and, though most of these were Lutherans, the Netherlands were fighting the Spanish for their independence and many of them may have been Marranos. The fall in their number from 3643 to 3160 is doubtless due to the fact that in the intervening years occurred the rising of the Low Countries against Alva and many patriotic Hollanders must have returned home to join in the fighting. In 1578 "Nathanael a Jew borne was baptized in the Parish Church of all hallows in Lombard Streete at London". and the famous John Foxe preached on that occasion. His sermon, which is very long, was printed by Christian Barker in that year, and is dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's great Secretary of State.

Portugal was united to Spain in 1580 and, under Spanish rule, residence in Portugal, and especially Lisbon, became increasingly difficult for the Marranos. Convictions for Judaism before the Tribunals of the Inquisition became much more frequent and the Marranos began to emigrate. Among those who came to England was this very Nathanael or Menda (=Mendes), a Spanish Jew, who was admitted to the Domus Conversorum in 1581. He had resided in London for three years before his conversion, poor but apparently unmolested. Lucien Wolf, by the aid of Inquisition records, has been able to discover quite a goodly company of Jews in Elizabethan England, numbering almost a hundred. Nunez, de Lima, Pardo, Alvarez, de Tapia, Luis, are among the London Jews of the time[91] who figure in his list. In 1595, 89 Judaizers, most of them Portuguese, were punished at a single Auto-da-fe at Seville. The Marranos were beginning to find life intolerable either in Portugal or Spain and their eyes naturally turned to the Netherlands. Although severe edicts had been passed, excluding new Christians from the Netherlands, many secret Jews were to be found in those provinces both before and after the separation from Spain.

The first beginning of an organized Community of Marranos outside Spain came in romantic fashion, well depicted by Dr. Ludwig Philippsohn in 1867 in his novel *Jacob Tirado.* Jacob Tirado was a historical personage who, with some other Marranos, set sail from Portugal in 1593, hoping to reach Holland, which had joined the League of Utrecht in 1579. The League forbade persecution on religious grounds and Marranos had therefore reason to believe that they would not be molested. The Spanish ship in which Tirado sailed was captured by the English, but Queen Elizabeth (herself a Hebraist like Lady Jane Grey and the Princess Arabella Stuart) triumphantly remembering the defeat of the Armada, accorded a gracious welcome to fugitives from her own enemies. One of the passengers, Maria Nunes Rodrigues, was so lovely that she won the heart of an English nobleman. But she refused his hand. She with her brother and Tirado and the rest went on to Holland. They met for worship in the house of

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[91] See his presidential address to the Jewish Historical Society of England, made at Manchester, on the 21st of Nov., 1926.

Samuel Pallache, the Jewish envoy of the Emperor of Morocco. In 1598 they obtained leave to erect a synagogue in Amsterdam. Maria eventually married her cousin, Manuel Lopes Pereira.[92]

In 1606 Hugh Broughton, a scholar, who had corresponded in Hebrew with Queen Elizabeth and whose wish it was to be one of the translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible, and who was one of the first of English missionaries to the Jews, published in Amsterdam a controversial tract in Hebrew, "Parshegen Nishtan," for the Jews of that city. The little Jewish colony there soon increased in numbers, wealth and importance. It was not so much literature as commerce, which caused the Dutch city to be recognized as the New Jerusalem. Spain by its increasing persecution of the Marranos played into Jewish hands. Its fugitives increased and joined the thriving Dutch community and made Amsterdam the seventeenth century metropolis of overseas trade. Meantime, the interest of Englishmen in the Jew was becoming increasingly active. The fair Maria had stirred their curiosity. Alonzo, once Governor of Cadiz, and captured by the Earl of Essex when he took that town, was allowed to go to Amsterdam and to change his name and his religion. As Abraham de Herrera, he helped Tirado to found the "Beth Jacob" Synagogue. But the Jews they knew and "Shakespeare drew" were not only fair heroines. There were also stage villains among them. Such was Rodrigo Lopez (1525–1594), who settled in London in 1559, became a member of the College of Physicians and was medical adviser to the Earl of Leicester and afterwards to Elizabeth. In 1589 the Queen granted him the monopoly of importing seed into England. The Earl of Essex, who had been his patient, had meantime become his enemy because of an indiscreet revelation he had made of some of the Earl's ailments. Lopez became involved in political intrigues for the invasion of Portugal and was eventually brought to trial on a charge of "compounding to poison the Queen." His case caused a tremendous sensation in the metropolis and, on the 7th of June 1594, he was hanged, drawn and quartered in the Tower. There were also German Jews under Elizabeth, notably miners or mining engineers in the Welsh Colonies. One of these, Joachim Gans or Gaunse, was charged with blasphemy at Bristol in 1589, and his case remitted to the Privy Council in London. But there is no record as to its decision, perhaps because Mr. Secretary Walsingham was a large shareholder in the company which employed Gans and, through his influence, the case was allowed to drop.[93] From 1609 to 1613, the famous Casaubon employed a Jew at Oxford, called Jacob Barnett or Bernard, as his secretary and sought to convert him. Barnett pretended acquiescence and a date was actually fixed for the baptism, but before it arrived, Barnett had fled from the city. The proctors searched for him in vain and the authorities were very indignant. Casaubon, however, wrote to an Oxford friend that he did not think it a crime punishable by law to refuse to become a Christian. All the same it appears, from an entry in the records of the Privy Council, that Jacob Bernard a Jew was banished from England on the 16th of November, 1613.

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[92] Wolf dismisses the story as legendary. It is vouched by Daniel Levi de Barrios in his "Triumpho del Govierno Popular," Amsterdam, 1683.

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[93] Israel Abrahams in Jewish Historical Society Trans., IV.

Elizabethan drama is full of references to the Jewish traitor Lopez: he served as a model for Dekker in his *Whore of Babylon*, for Middleton in his *Game at Chess*, and for Marlowe in his *Rich Jew of Malta*. And it has been suggested by Sir Sidney Lee that Lopez was the original Shylock of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, the first version of which was staged two months after his execution. Graetz adopts Lee's view, that the actor Richard Burbage, who played the part, intended his get-up, beard and all, to be a caricature of poor Dr. Lopez. But the historian emphasizes the fact that Shakespeare's Jew is human after all and that there is poetic justice in Shylock's hatred of the Christians in general and of Antonio in particular, especially when one thinks of the real Antonio—Antonio Perez the hard and bigoted Spanish pretender, who had been Lopez's ungrateful patron. At the same time, Graetz does not acquit Shakespeare of out and out Jew-hatred and even goes so far as to suggest[94] (quite like Graetz) that the poet had the particular purpose of pleasing his aristocratic patrons, the Junkers of his England, and setting Queen Elizabeth against the Marranos she was inclined to patronize. Curiously enough, the *Mer-*

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[94] Shylock in der Sage im Drama und in der Geschichte, Krotoschin, Monasch, 1880.

chant of Venice was not a particularly popular play at the time, or there would not be so many copies extant of its early quartos. Nor is this the only play in which Shakespeare refers to Jews.[95]

But if Lopez was the peg on which the story hangs, the cruel usurer of the play, a type of the Jew whom Christians hold up to hatred and contempt was, as Graetz has shown, no Jew at all but the Christian merchant Paulo Maria Secchi of Rome. Secchi in the year 1585 had made a bet of a pound of flesh on the truth of the report that the English Admiral Drake had captured St. Domingo on the Island of Hayti and taken much booty. The man that lost the bet was a Jew called Sansone Ceneda. When the Jew lost, and the Christian insisted on his pound of flesh, Pope Sixtus VI sentenced them both to death, the Christian for intending the death of the Jew and the Jew for wagering his life, which was not his own but his sovereign lord's.

Philip IV of Spain, the Philip of Velasquez, succeeded his father in 1621 and, just before his accession, a powerful agitation had been started with the object of procuring the exile of all Jews in the Peninsula. The term "Jews" included not only professed Jews, but any persons whose parents had been punished by the Inquisition for offences of Judaism or condemned on suspicion of Judaism. A Junta, or Committee of grandees, was appointed to investigate the question and ultimately arguments in favor of the banishment of the "Jews" prevailed. In 1631 the King decided that all Judaizers were to be exiled from his dominions.[96] This, which I have elsewhere characterized as the second expulsion from Spain and Portugal, was hardly less important and far-reaching than its better known predecessor of 1492, for it was this anti-Marrano policy that laid the foundation of the Jewish communities of London, Altona and Bordeaux and brought to Amsterdam a Spinoza and thence to London a Manasseh ben Israel.

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[95] For such references see: Two Gentlemen of Verona, II, 3 and 5; Much Ado About Nothing, II, 3 end; Midsummer Night's Dream, III, 1; Love's Labour Lost, III, 1; Macbeth, IV, 1; First Part of Henry IV, II, 4.

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[96] Adler's "Auto de fe and Jew," p. 36.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RESETTLEMENT

Graetz shows how the Spanish and Portuguese refugees who had been lucky enough to escape the Moloch of the Inquisition, established themselves in lands where civil freedom and religious toleration were political principles, in Holland and England.

"They were a remarkable class of Jews who wandered thither. They were born and bred in Christianity, the third and fourth generation of those who had received baptism from motives of fear and despair. They could not, of course, be satisfied with a religion which preached the doctrine of love by means of human holocausts. On the contrary, their love to Judaism increased in proportion to their horror against the inhumanity of the Church. In their almost fanatical love for Judaism, these pseudo-Christians—Marranos they were called—risked all dangers of death which flight caused to hang over them. They formed a brilliant body, these brands plucked from the burning, men of the cultured professions, doctors, lawyers, soldiers, poets, monks and nuns, unfrocked Dominicans and Jesuits, among them the confessor of a Spanish Infanta. It was a wonderful occurrence. They formed a series of brilliant names with the proud bearing of Spanish hidalgos, the men that created, first, the Dutch Jewish colony and then, its offspring, the London community. The Jewish colony in London and in other English towns (which gradually received accessions from Germany and Poland) produced, it is true, no movement of consequence for nearly two hundred years after its slight beginnings. But it preserved in its midst the germs of a maturer development. In the first place its moral conduct earned for it respect and consideration, even in the highest circles of the English people."[97]

Their staunch adherence to their faith was proverbial, and so Andrew Marvell (1621–1678) in his *Coy Mistress* is not unduly extravagant when he makes his lover protest,

> "I would love you ten years before the Flood,
> And you should, if you please, refuse,
> Till the conversion of the Jews."

Under the Stuart kings, however, it was not only the exalted type of Spanish grandee that represented Judaism in England, but the Londoner would also come across a humbler and less desirable class of Jew among the German or Polish immigrants, who were not merchants but hawkers and dealers in old clothes. As early as 1609, Ben Jonson's *Every Woman in Her Humour* was performed, in which a citizen's wife advises anyone going to Court that he can hire a good suit at a Jew's. Traffic in old clothes had already become typical.

Thomas Dekker (1570–1641), a dramatist, an Elizabethan Dickens, whose plays and tracts are valuable for the light they throw on Elizabethan and

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[97] Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London, 1887, pp. 12, 13.

Jacobean times, has a singular reference to Jews which would seem to antedate by half a century their residence and worship in London. In 1613 he published *A Strange Horse Race*, a tract in which he recites "The Devil's last Will and Testament", of which the following is an extract:–

> "Item, my Will is that all the Brokers in Long Lane be sent to me...and for their brethren (the rest of their Jewish tribe in the Synagogue of Houns-ditch) let them be assured they shall not be forgotten because I heare they pray for me hourely; I pitty these poore dispised soules, because if they should misse me, I know what would become of them."[98]

John Evelyn, in his Diary, writes in 1641 from London of his acquaintance with a Burgundian Jew, who had married "an apostate Kentish woman" and had given him an account of certain quaint Jewish beliefs. He adds that "he showed me several books of their devotions which he had translated into English for the instruction of his wife."[99] This is the first English translation of the liturgy on record.

Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, perhaps a relative of the hatmaker of 1571, had come to England from the Canary Isles and established an important export and import business between England, Holland and the Spanish Colonies of South America. He and his fellow countrymen and co-religionists passed as Spaniards and made a practice of attending Mass at the Chapel of the Spanish Embassy. But with the rise of the Commonwealth in 1654 and the declaration of war between England and Spain in 1656, it became necessary for them to throw off the mask and declare themselves to be Jews. They were the more encouraged to do so because, already in 1650, the Council of Mechanics at Whitehall had called for toleration; "even for Turks, Papists and Jews."[100] In their own interest they had to make a powerful effort for the removal of Jewish disabilities and they found in Manasseh ben Israel a strong advocate of their cause.

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[98] See Jewish Chronicle, Dec. 5, 1924.

[99] Cited by S. Singer, "Early Translations and Translators of the Jewish Liturgy in England." Jewish Historical Society Transactions, Vol. III, 39.

Manasseh was a native of Lisbon and acted as rabbi and printer in Amsterdam. A great linguist, he was well regarded in the circles of the learned and his manners proved him something of a courtier. He was invited over to London by Carvajal and his associates and, in 1655, from lodgings in the Strand, forwarded "to his Highness, the Lord Protector" his *Humble Adresses on behalf of the Jewish Nation*, asking that Jews should be officially permitted to return to England.

In the *Adresses*, he refers to two previous publications, perhaps inspired by local Jews, but showing that the question was of general interest, *An Apologie for the Honorable Nation of the Jewes and all the Sons of Israel* (published in 1648 by Edward Nicholas) and a Dutch book by a Christian Minister named

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[100] Report of lecture by Lucien Wolf in Jewish Chronicle, 14th May, 1920.

Henry Jesse,[101] called the *Glory of Jehudah and Israel*, and dedicated to our "Nation" in 1653. This was probably translated from the Spanish. Milton, then Secretary to the Council of State, and perhaps the greatest of English Hebraists, may have been another advocate of the Resettlement.

England was not the only country that Manasseh envisaged as a home for his brethren. In an interesting article, written unfortunately in Dutch, Mr. W. J. M. Hillesum, the librarian of the Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam, refers to his correspondence in 1651 with Queen Christina's librarian, Isaac Vossius, asking him to use his influence with the Queen to admit Jews to Sweden.[102]

"Though he was not a Gassendus in Philosophy, or a Grotius in Divinity; yet he was reputed the most celebrated Rabbin of his age.... He was of a middle stature, and inclining to Fatness. He always wore his own hair, which (many years before his death) was very Gray; so that his complexion being pretty fresh, his Demeanor Graceful, and Comely, his Habit plain and decent, he Commanded an aweful Reverence, which was justly due to so venerable a Deportment."

So writes Thomas Pocock in a biography of Manasseh prefixed to a translation of[103] his work on the *Term of Life*. The personal details are based upon information supplied to the translator by Dr. Gomes Serra.

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[101] Henry Jesse subsequently published: A narrative of the Late Proceedings at Whitehall (1656).

[102] Amsterdamsch Jaar Boekje voor 1899 (pp. 45–52); see below, p. 240.

[103] "De Termino Vitae" or "The Term of Life," translated by P. T. (=Thomas Pocock), to which are added the author's life and a catalogue of his works. London, Whitwood, 1700.

The Protector in response to Manasseh's *Humble Adresses*, and after inviting him to his table, summoned a conference of Notables to meet at Whitehall and advise him whether Jews could be readmitted to England. Carlyle, in his *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*,[104] sums up the story of the Whitehall Conference which ended on "Jew Wednesday," the 12th of December, 1655. "Highest official Persons, with Lord Chief Barons, Lord Chief Justice, and chosen Clergy have met here to advise, by reason, Law-learning, Scripture-prophecy, and every sort of light for the human mind, concerning the proposal of admitting Jews, with certain privileges as of alien-citizens, to reside in England. They were banished near Four-hundred years ago: shall they now be allowed to reside and trade again? The Proposer is 'Manasseh ben Israel', a learned Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam; who, being stirred up of late years by the great things doing in England, has petitioned one and the other, Long Parliament and Little Parliament, for this object; but could never, till his Highness came into power, get the matter brought to a hearing.

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[104] Ed. 1845, I, 395. There were in fact five meetings of the Conference, on the 4th, 7th, 12th, 14th and 18th December 1655. See "The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England" by several hands. London, Tonson, 1763. 2nd Edition, Vol. XX. This quotes the Official Narrative published by order of Cromwell and his Council and printed by Henry Hills, Printer to his Highness the Lord Protector. It adds some curious but unofficial details as to an offer by the Jewish Deputies of £200,000 to Cromwell and their desire "to purchase all the Manuscripts belonging to the University of Cambridge!"

And so they debate and solemnly consider; and his Highness spake;—and says one witness, 'I never heard a man speak so well.'[105] His Highness was eager for the scheme if so might be. But the Scripture-prophecies, Law learnings, and lights of the human mind seemed to point another way: zealous Manasseh went home again: the Jews could not settle here except by private sufferance of his Highness;—and the matter contracts itself into a point for us."[106]

The Conference was not the utter failure that Carlyle suggests. The judges who attended held that there was no law forbidding the Jews' return into England, but there was much opposition as to the "terms upon which it is meet to receive them." The Lord Mayor and the City merchants opposed their return for fear of commercial competition, as likely to enrich foreigners at their own expense. Arguments were used, such as have been almost literally repeated in the anti-Semitic debates of our own time in the Chamber of the new Republic of Poland. Cromwell taunted the merchants with their fears, and broke up the Conference. A month later, it is reported in No. 293 of the *Mercurius Politicus*, under date of January 21, from Amsterdam, that "We are full of discourse touching the Proposals of the Jews to his Highness the Protector; concerning whose admission this I believe, that in your War with Spain they may be of use to the State. The restraints that are laid upon them are necessary, but I wish that the means to deal with them for their conversion were also thought upon . . . . ." This does seem to have been the attitude of most English and Dutch Christians at the time; undoubtedly it was that of the Protector. He granted Manasseh a pension. The disappointed Rabbi lived but a year to enjoy it. Pocock tells us that he left one of his sons behind him in England, "who married into a credible Family, but did not long survive his good father, leaving behind him only one child."

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[105] Sir Paul Rycant, in Spence's Anecdotes, p. 77, as cited by Godwin, IV, 299.

[106] Godwin, II, 243–9.

Jewish rights were however henceforth assumed to be in existence. The Privy Council in Robles' Case decided, in May 1656, that, as Robles was a Jew born in Portugal, the property belonging to him, which had been sequestrated by the Crown, was to be released in his favor. The City Authorities were warned not to interfere with the Jewish merchants. They were allowed to maintain a synagogue and, in February 1657, leased a cemetery at Mile End in the names of Carvajal and Caceres. In the British Museum,[107] among the papers of Emanuel Mendez da Costa, is what has been regarded as "a list of the earliest Jewish settlers" in London. Lucien Wolf thinks that it cannot have been earlier than 1659 nor later than 1667.[108]

Contemporary records throw much light on the way in which Cromwell's broad and far-sighted Jewish policy was regarded. Petty jealousy and narrow intolerance were too strong for even the powerful Dictator of the Commonwealth. The *Mercurius Politicus*, the official "Intelligencer" of the day, gives a short but fair account of the various meetings of the Conference. Prynne, the famous publicist and bitter opponent of the Jews, depicts a lively picture of the time in the preface to his *Short Demurrer to the Jewes Long discontinued Remitter into England.* This anti-Semitic pamphlet was directly occasioned by the Whitehall Conference and written while it was in session. He explains:—

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[107] Add. MS. 29868.

[108] Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica: A Bibliographical guide to Anglo-Jewish History compiled by Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf, London, 1888, pp. XXI, XXII.

"In my return homewards that day[109] by the Garden-Wall at Whitehall, Mr. Nye[110] the Minister going very fast there overtook, and saluting me by name, presently demanded this unexpected question of me; whether there were any Law of England against bringing in the Jews amongst us? for the Lawyers had newly delivered their Opinions, there was no Law against it . . . To which I subjoyned; that it was now a very ill time to bring in the Jews when the people were so dangerously and generally bent to Apostacy and all sorts of Novelties in Religion; and would sooner turn Jews, than the Jews Christians. He answered, He thought it was true, and was sorry he could not discourse longer with me, the Committee about the Jews being sate and staying for him, as he feared . . . and so we parted. As I kept on my way, in Lincolnes-Inne-Field passing by seven or eight maimed Soldiers on stilts, who begged of me; I heard them say aloud to one another, We must now all turn Jews, and there will be nothing left for the poor. And not far from them another company of poor people, just at Lincolne's-Inn back gate, cried aloud to each other: They are all turned Devils already and now we must all turn Jews. Which unexpected concurrent Providences and Speeches, made such an impression on my spirit, that before I could take my rest that night, I perused most of the passages in our English Histories concerning the Jews carriage in England."

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[109] 7th December, 1655.

[110] Philip Nye, a theologian, member of the Whitehall Conference.

The *Counter Scuffle,* a coarse satire, written by Captain Alexander Radcliffe and published in 1659, contains a reference to Manasseh ben Israel in the following lines:—

"I must hide
Tomorrow
A head that was not hid before
Woe worth him makes *Manasses* roar
But dye I may not in his score,
Believe me."

Apparently the opposition to Manasseh was generally discountenanced. And indeed, though the famous Whitehall Conference resulted in no recorded decision in favor of the resettlement of Jews in England, it did undoubtedly convince public opinion that their residence could not be regarded as illegal. Thenceforth the London Jewish Community increased and multiplied and, without any serious set-back, grew into the important organization of to-day.

John Wilson (1627–1696) was a London dramatist called to the Bar in 1649. In 1662 he wrote *The*

Cheats, a farce of which Scruple, a bibulous Nonconformist parson, is the hero. The Satire was, in 1663, deemed to be "so scandalous that it is forbidden." The first edition, published in 1664, contained in the first scene of the fifth act a mock incantation scene, where appears "a dog-Latin jargon headed Mazol Tob", omitted from the still extant manuscript at Worcester College, Oxford. The heading, which is plain Hebrew for "Good Luck", shows intimacy on the part of the author and his circle with the Jews of his day.

Their presence in England was tacitly allowed. In the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, we find Jewish broker merchants, who had the right to trade at the Royal Exchange, appearing in 1655 as underwriters prepared to insure goods to Lisbon at 2½ per cent and to Barbados at 3½ per cent. And in 1657 Solomon Dormido, Manasseh's nephew, successfully applied to the Court of Aldermen for membership. They granted it to him without asking questions or forcing on him the oath, which he could not have taken, as it had to be made "on the true faith of a Christian".

CHAPTER XIV

AFTER THE RESTORATION
CHARLES II (1660—1685)

After the declaration in the Robles Case, which secured to the Portuguese and Spanish Jews in London right of settlement and trade, the recognition of them and their co-religionists as an established Jewish community made rapid headway.

In December 1657, the Earl of Monmouth, writing to his "deare Nan", says, "The Jews' mouths though not their eyes, are to be opened: whoe I do hear, are to have two sinagogs allowed them in London, whereof St. Paul's to be one. Well, my hart, God's will must be done and we must submit to it."[111] In the same year a private house in Creechurch Lane, Leadenhall Street (but not St. Paul's Cathedral), had been fitted up as a synagogue. A truly vivid picture of the London Jews of the time and of this synagogue in Creechurch Lane is given by one Thomas Crumpton in a letter to the Revd. Jo. Greenhalgh, Minister of Astley Chapel. This letter is dated the 12th of April, 1662 and is happily preserved among the Lansdowne manuscripts at the British Museum. He writes:–

. . ."There must in reason need be some number of Jewes in this City, though those only merchant and yt consequently they must have some place of meeting together for their divine worship.....I inquired hereof but could not for a long time hear or learn whether or where any such thing was. But lately—I light upon a learned Jew with a mighty bush Beard, a great Rabbi,—he could speak Latin and some little broken English, having been two years in London....his name (I like to said Christian name) Samuel Levi. He told me his own mother is yet living and dwelleth at this present in ye City of Hierusalem from whence he had received ten several letters within this 2 years.....He said he was brought up and was a student 11 years in ye Jews College in Cracovia, the Chief City of Poland, where the Jews have a University...I got him to accept of an invitation to take part of a Dinner with me. At which time he told me yt he had special Relation as Scribe and Rabbi to a private Synagogue of his nation in London and yt if I had a desire to see their manner of worship though they did scarce admit of any, their Synagogue being strictly kept with three doors one beyond another, yet he would give me such a ticket... in a private corner of ye City[112].....at ye point of 9 a clock ....for they were but beginning service....I saw no living soul but all covered, hooded, gowned, veiled Jews and my own plain bareself among them....Their veiles were all pure white made of Taffata or silk though some few more of a stuff coarser than silk.

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[111] Quoted in Times Literary Supplement, 8th Sept. 1921, p. 580.

"Their Synagogue is like a chappel high built . . . ye Chief Ruler[113] was a very rich merchant, a big, black, fierce and stern man, to whom I perceive they stand on as reverential an awe as boys to a master, for when any left singing upon yr Books and talk'd or yt some were out of Tune, he did call aloud with a barberous thundering voice and knock't upon the high desk with his fist yt all sounded again.

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[112] Creechurch Lane.

[113] Dormido.

"Afterwards I understood yt several had been there to see them eat it who brought away some of their unleavened bread with them and shewed to some who told me one year in Oliver's time they did build Booths on ye other side of Thames, and kept ye Feast of Tabernacles in them as some told me who saw them, but since ye K's coming in they are very close, nor do admit any to see them but very privately. When I was in ye Synagogue I counted abt or above 100 right Jews, one proselyte amongst them, they were all gentlemen (merchts) I saw not one mechanick person, most of them rich in apparrell, divers with jewels glittering, for they are the richest Jewellers of any. They are all generally black so as they may be distinguished from Spaniards or Native Greeks, for ye Jews hair hath a deeper tincture of a more perfect Raven black they have a quick piercing eye and look as if of strong intellectuals, several of them are comely, gallant, proper gentlemen. I knew many of them when I saw them daily upon the Exchange and ye priest there too, who also is a Mercht."

This synagogue seems to have been opened during the first weeks of 1657 and its dedication synchronized with the opening of the Jewish burial ground in Mile End.[114]

On the Restoration in 1660, a contemporary list shows 35 Jewish families in London, with already two synagogues, one for the Sefardim in Creechurch Lane, E.C., and one for the German Jews in Great St. Helens, E.C.

The first *Haham* was Moses Athias, a relative of Carvajal. His position was strengthened by his successful resistance to an attempt to pass counterfeit coins upon him. This had been contrived by one Thomas Violet, a City jeweller, who applied to the Privy Council to arrest the Jews and confiscate their property on the ground that their settlement in England was illegal. The Corporation of the City of London also petitioned the King to expel all Jews out of his dominions. But the Jews lodged a counter-petition and, ultimately, in 1664, Charles the Second graciously assured the Jews of "the same favour as formerly they have had" and promised them his protection "so long as they demean themselves peaceably and quietly, with due obedience to his Majesty's law, and without scandal to his Government." This has, by Dr. Gaster, been claimed to be the first overt act sanctioning the return of the Jews to England. An eminent Hebrew scholar and controversialist, Jacob Sasportas, who had accompanied Manasseh ben Israel on his visit to London, was appointed *Haham* in 1664, but the Plague which devastated London in the following year frightened him back to Amsterdam and Joshua da Silva took his place.

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[114] Wilfrid Samuel, "The First London Synagogue of the Re-settlement," Jewish Historical Society Transactions, III, 1, reviewed in T. L. S., 6th Nov. 1924, p. 696.

The year 1666 was known as the "annus mirabilis" and, indeed, it was a wonderful year for London. The Great Fire, calamitous though it was, seems to have acted as a disinfectant and cleansed the City from the taint of the plague. The Jews do not appear to have suffered as much as their neighbors from either Plague or Fire. They were in a mental state of superexaltation, owing to their profound conviction that in Sabbatai Zevi, the impostor of Smyrna, they had found a true Messiah. Sabbatai's father had been the agent of an English firm. He must have heard of the millenarian hopes of Cromwellian England; talk hereof may have fired the imagination of his extraordinary son. The Sabbatian heresy spread like wildfire through the Jewries of Europe, and London was not less enthusiastic than Amsterdam. An interesting picture of the local excitement among Jews and non-Jews alike is given in a letter to Spinoza, preserved in the Archives of the Royal Society and written by their first Secretary, Dr. Henry Oldenburg. Oldenburg asks Spinoza's opinion about Sabbatai, but the great philosopher's reply is unfortunately lost. Sasportas exercised all his influence in the London Community to combat the heresy and to wean them back from their superstitious belief in the fashionable impostor.

For several years the London Jews had to cope with the restrictions and dangers imposed by the Conventicle Act. This law forbade the meeting of more than five persons for worship, except in church.

Thus *Minyan* in synagogue was illegal, but the Jews prayed on without molestation until 1673, when they were indicted for breach of the Act. The King, however, instructed the Attorney General to stop the proceedings. Twelve years later his brother, King James II, similarly stayed an action brought against forty-eight London Jews for breach of Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. Charles II had favored the Jews because they had helped him in Holland and financed the Restoration. His Portuguese wife, Catherine of Braganza, brought two Jewish bankers, Duarte and Silva, with her to administer her dowry, and Fernando Mendes,[114a] a Marrano, was her physician. Such philosemitism however was not popular and so in the *History of Insipids*, a lampoon of 1676, the King is taunted because —

"He like a politick Prince and pious,
gives liberty to conscience tender,
And doth to no Religion tye us,
Jews, Christians, Turks, Papists, he'll please us
With *Moses, Mahomet or J———*"

In 1675 Jacob Jehudah Leon, "a Hebrew", dedicated *A Relation of the most memorable things in the*

[114a] Fernando Mendes or Mendez was born in Portugal, graduated Ph. D. at Montpellier in 1667, attended not only the Queen but Charles II, was admitted Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1687, and died in 1724, a professing Jew. His grandson Moses Mendez was, though a successful stockbroker, a wit, a dramatist, and a poet. His popularity was such that, even after his death, "Mendez's Poems" was the title ascribed to "A collection of the most esteemed Pieces of Poetry . . . . with variety of originals by the late Moses Mendez Esq. and other contributors to Dodsley's Collection to which this is intended as a Supplement." [2nd Edition, London, 1770]. Moses died in 1758.

Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon to Charles II. Though printed in Amsterdam, the book is in English. From this work he was known as Leon Templo. He was of Marrano descent, born in Hamburg, and became *Haham* of the Jewish Community of Amsterdam in 1643.

Both this book and his *Cherubim* created a considerable stir among the mystics and theologians of his time. It was translated into many languages and is of great importance in the history of freemasonry. Templo was an artist of some skill and designed the coat of arms of the Grand Lodge of Masons in London, with its Hebrew motto. Many of his drawings are preserved in the Latin translation of the Mishnah published by Surenhusius in 1698.

In 1680, "Eve Cohan, now called Elizabeth Vernoon, a person of quality of the Jewish religion", was baptized at St. Martin's in the Fields by the Bishop of St. Asaph. This conversion caused a great stir at the time and one of the pamphlets on the subject throws considerable light on Jewish conditions. Already then, as the preface shows, there were "many converts who made a trade of changing their religion", but it is claimed that Eve was influenced by a clear conviction and this though her father Abraham Cohen had been Chief Governor of the Dutch Plantations of Brazil and worth £100,000, most of which he lost when the Portuguese beat the Dutch out of Brazil. She eloped with Vernoon, one of her father's clerks, and some of her father's Jewish friends commenced legal proceedings with a view to her arrest and Vernoon's. Religious prejudice was much excited; and the Lord Mayor denounced all Jews for "daring to offer such an affront to the religion and nation of the Land." Nothing serious seems to have come of this unfortunate anti-Semitic agitation. The Privy Council deliberated in that year as to the expediency of constituting a Jewish quarter or Ghetto in London, but the project was not proceeded with.

In the same year another step was taken toward the emancipation of the English Jews. For, on the 5th of April 1680, Moses Hiskiahu de Mercado, Solomon Mendez Sereno, Jacob vas Martinez, Isaac Coronel, Benjamin Nunez Pauia, Jacob Pachen and Daniel Mendez applied for letters patent to make them free denizens, so as to enable them to transport themselves to the Plantations. The common form of Denization, however, involved an undertaking to reside in England, and so these Jewish applicants successfully petitioned the Privy Council to extend such undertaking to any other of His Majesty's Dominions.[115]

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[115] Acts of the Privy Council Colonies, 1613–1680.

CHAPTER XV

REFERENCES TO LONDON JEWRY IN INQUISITION RECORDS IN THE CANARIES

THE Records of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands[116] (1499–1693) contain many references to Jews and crypto-Jews in London. Under date of the 10th of March 1660, evidence is recorded against Antonio Fernandez Carbajal (The Carvajal of whom we have already heard) by Frai Mathias Pinto, a Franciscan friar of La Palma, who tells of a visit he had made to London, when the accused had told him that he had been a Jew since the Protector Cromwell broke the peace with Spain.

In the entries for August 1663 there is a long and interesting account of the examination into the lives and habits of many persons accused of being Jews, or practising Jewish ceremonies, and of the proceedings of the Inquisition against them in consequence of their denunciation by a renegade, Gaspar de Vitoria, who had been reconciled by the Holy Office of the Inquisition and imprisoned at Seville. The cities of Lisbon, Antwerp, Rouen, Amsterdam and, especially, London figure in his story. It will be remembered that the ancient English Chroniclers, and also Stow in his *Survey of London* told how William the Conqueror was the first who brought Jews "from Ruan into this Realm." History repeats itself and Gaspar tells how "it is public and notorious that, from Rouen many Jews went to live in Amsterdam and other cities in Holland, where they publicly professed Judaism," and some of them went to London. Thus Francisco de Medina, called Rafael du Varti, is a brother of Samuel de Vega, who resides in London.

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[116] See Birch: "Catalogue of . . . Manuscripts . . . of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands now in the possession of the Marquess of Bute," Edinburgh and London, 1903. See also Lucien Wolf, "Jews in the Canary Islands," London, Jewish Historical Society, 1926. This is a calendar of the Jewish cases extracted from Lord Bute's MSS. Unfortunately this chapter was written before Wolf's book appeared.

In April 1666 the evidence of witnesses is recorded against Domingo and George de Francia, brothers, natives of Malaga resident in London. Don Alonso de Milano deposes that about three years previously, he had come to the City of London and found that many Portuguese had come there from Madrid, Malaga, and the Canary Islands and elsewhere; and it was said or murmured in London that they were Jews. His brother testifies that "I have often seen them accompanied by other Jews and dressed in holiday attire on Saturdays, with fine bands ("valones") and shoes and white breeches and with their beards trimmed on Friday, which is the chief sign by which they are to be told and recognised in the City of London and never have I seen them on Saturdays attend on Exchange or carrying on business and never on Sunday or Saints days have I seen them attend Mass in the Chapel or other places of worship."

Again, he tells how he had heard the English on Exchange say that these Francias had come from

Malaga to London in order to escape the Tribunal of the Holy Office, which wished to banish them for being Jews, because in London they could live and profess Judaism without rebuke or banishment. When asked if he had ever seen them practise Jewish ceremonies, he said that "Inasmuch as there is no Public Synagogue in London, I could never see them do so, but that, in the City, those persons are regarded as professing Jews, who do not go to Exchange on Saturdays and do not attend Mass and who, on Saturdays, appear more sprucely attired," and though the declarant was constantly himself on Exchange, he never saw the two brothers Francia appear there on Saturdays, and if they were observed at all in the City on Saturdays and Friday nights, they appeared tidier and more clean in their persons than on the other days of the week, and that it was commonly reported in London that the Jews are occpied with their rites and ceremonies throughout Saturday until the evening and that they kept Saturday as the Catholics keep Sunday.

Again, in 1678, Cosmo de Garay of Tenerife gives the Inquisition Court an account of Don Joseph Carrera, a Catalan, who lives in the City of London in the Kingdom of England and is engaged in teaching many to read and write Spanish. This same Carrera used to be a priest but had married a Dutch woman and had three or four sons and, when in Amsterdam, he was constantly seen to go in and out of the synagogue there.

CHAPTER XVI

UNDER JAMES II (1685—1689) AND WILLIAM AND MARY (1689—1702)

It is a curious fact, which has been pointed out by H.S.Q. Henriques, that the actual date when the resettlement of the Jews in England was legally recognized has been judicially held to be as late as the 13th of November, 1685, in the reign of James II. The modern history of English Jews was discussed by Mr. Justice Stirling in the case of De Wilton v. Montefiore.[117] The Judge relied upon an Order of Council of that date from which he quotes as follows:—"Upon reading this day at the Board, the petition of Joseph Henriques, Abraham Delivera, and Aaron Pacheco, overseers of the Jewish Synagogue, and the rest of the Jewish nation, setting forth that his late Majesty, of blessed memory, having found the petitioners and their nation ever faithful to the Government and ready to serve him on all occasions, was pleased in February 1673, to signify his royal pleasure, that, whilst they continued quiet, true and faithful to the government, they should enjoy the liberty and profession of their religion, which they accordingly peaceably exercised till Michaelmas Term last; that several writs out of the King's Bench, on the statute made in the twenty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, had been taken out against forty-eight of the Jewish nation by one Thomas Beaumont, and thirty-seven of them arrested thereupon, as they were following their occasions on the Royal Exchange, to the great prejudice of their reputation both here and abroad; and therefore praying his Majesty to permit and suffer them, as heretofore, to have the benefit and free exercise of their religion during their good behaviour towards his Majesty's Government. His Majesty having taken this matter into his royal consideration, was pleased to order, and it is hereby accordingly ordered, that his Majesty's Attorney General do stop all the said proceedings at law against the petitioners; his Majesty's intention being that they should not be troubled upon this account, but quietly enjoy the free exercise of their religion, whilst they behave themselves dutifully and obediently to his Government," and the learned Judge concludes, "From that time forward" the Jews "appear to have been permitted to reside in England and to practice the rites of their religion."

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[117] L. R. 1900, 2. Ch. 489. See Henriques, The Jews and the English Law, pp. 49–51.

The appointment of Jacob Abendana as *Haham* to be successor to Joshua da Silva, may have contributed to calm the agitation. Like Templo, of Marrano origin and a native of Hamburg, he originally settled in Amsterdam. His Spanish writings had made him famous. With him came his brother Isaac who established himself, first at Cambridge (1664–6) and then at Oxford, as Lector of Hebrew, under the patronage of the Master of University College, and there published a series of year books called *The*

Oxford Almanack and Jewish Calendar, with essays on Jewish subjects.[118] These are excessively rare little books and much prized by the collector. In 1685 Abendana died and Solomon Ayllon was appointed in his place. But Ayllon was tinged with the Sabbatian heresy, that is to say, he was inclined to believe in the famous pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Zevi. His pastorate was not a success and, in 1701, he returned to Amsterdam and made way for the famous *Haham* David Nieto.

Meantime Revolution had broken out and James's son-in-law William of Orange with his wife Queen Mary were invited to occupy their father's throne. William brought with him to England all the tolerant and liberal principles for which Holland had been distinguished. In 1690 the Ashkenazim founded a community for themselves and appointed Judah ben Ephraim Cohen their Rabbi, independent of the jurisdiction of the original Sefardi Congregation. In the same year we trace signs of a set-back in the status of London Jews. A special tax was imposed upon them, Jewish merchant denizens being regarded as aliens and liable to alien dues. Seven years later the number of Jewish brokers in London was limited to twelve, out of the hundred licensed brokers admitted to practice by the Corporation of London.

Sir Solomon de Medina, the greatest army contractor of his day, in 1677 paid taxes on a turnover of £32,000 and in 1678 on £80,000. It was he who financed the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns. Although he was the richest member of Bevis Marks, there were in 1677 at least nineteen other members who each paid £20 taxes as compared with his £28, so that they too must have been reputed to have been each more than half as rich.

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[118] Eight of these little duodecimo volumes appeared during the successive years 1692 to 1699.

Between 1673 and 1689, no less than one hundred and four Jews were made denizens, including Diego de Medina in 1684. They are named in an appendix to a learned treatise[119] on the legal status of the Jew entitled, "The Question whether a Jew born in the British Dominions was, before the making of the late Act of Parliament, a person capable by law to purchase and hold lands to him and his heirs, fairly stated and considered."

Less than half a century after their restoration to England, the Jews had become perfect chauvinists, thoroughly English and the most loyal of citizens. It is accordingly not surprising to find that, in 1694, when Queen Mary died of smallpox, the Jews mourned her tragic end very sincerely and very deeply. Joseph Abendanon, an exile from Belgrade, and then teacher of little children in the Royal City of London, writes a Hebrew elegy[120] on her death of which the concluding verse may be rendered:

"Oh King of Glory, Mercy's Lord!
Comfort our King, bereft, alone.
Exalt his Kingdom, raise his Throne
In Eden, Mary! thy reward."

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[119] London 1753. The author, a "Gentleman of Lincolns Inn," was Carteret Webb.

[120] MS. Adler, 2247.

The same Abendanon wrote elegies[120a] on the death of William III in 1702, and two years previously on that of the young Duke of Gloucester, the son of the Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne and heir to the throne, failing whom the succession has passed to the reigning House of Hanover.

These elegies are extant in a manuscript[120a] written by Solomon the son of Isaac da Costa Athias in London, in 1717. Solomon da Costa dropped the surname Athias but preserved his taste for Hebrew literature throughout his long life.

[120a] See note 120.

CHAPTER XVII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, there was considerable commercial intercourse between Hamburg and London, and many Jews left Hamburg and settled in London. One of these was Abeline (or Aberle) Kohn, sometime president of the Great Synagogue. Another was a jeweller, Marcus Hamburger, whose father Moses was "Parnas" (warden) of the Jewish Community in Hamburg. The two men were bitter enemies because they had both courted the same girl and Marcus had been the successful suitor. The girl was a daughter of the famous diarist Glückel von Hameln.

Kohn was vain and arbitrary and fell out with the rabbi of the Great Synagogue, Rabbi Judah Löb Chariff, whom he worried into resigning his office. Löb Chariff was succeeded in 1722 by Rabbi Uri, known as Aaron Feibusch (born in Breslau in 1670). His brother Moses Breslau had taken the surname of Hart and Rabbi Aaron followed his example. He had been unsuccessful as a merchant in Breslau and came to London to this rich brother, Moses Hart, thanks to whose influence he obtained his rabbinic appointment. In those days Germans, members of the London community, were very quarrelsome and critical each of the other, and Rabbi Aaron was at first not universally liked. One of their quarrels led to a schism among the Ashkenazim of London and the establishment of a rival synagogue.

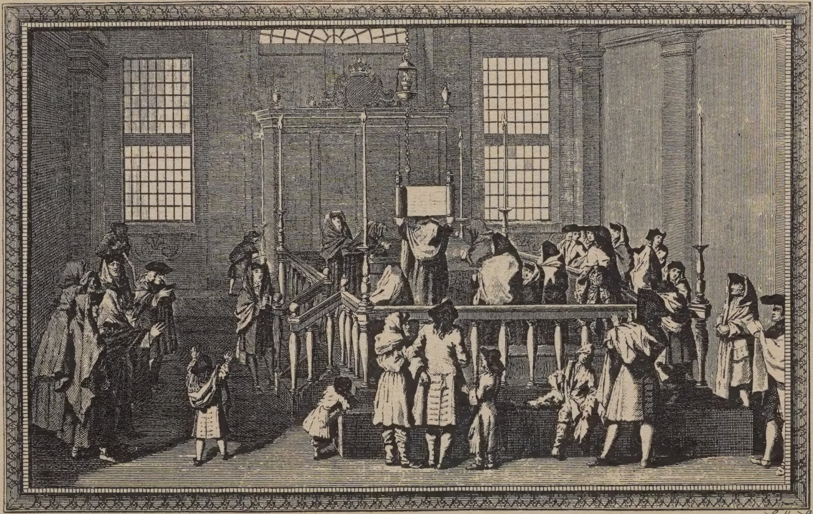
Marcus Hamburger had protested against a divorce (*Get*) granted by Rabbi Aaron Hart, alleging that it violated some of the minute formalities which rabbinic law enjoins, so as not to make divorce too easy. Hamburger was accordingly excommunicated by Hart. The excommunication raised a great turmoil and rabbis in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hamburg were appealed to for their opinion as to whether such a punishment was not too severe. Abeline Kohn, however, used his influence to persuade Hart to maintain the *herem* he had pronounced and poor Hamburger was refused all the amenities of communal life, forbidden to say the blessing on the congregational citron during Tabernacles and excluded from being called up to the Law, even though he offered £500 for the privilege.

The Rabbis consulted agreed that the *herem* was inapplicable and unjustly pronounced, but Aaron Hart, so far from yielding to their opinion, had the *herem* again publicly proclaimed against Hamburger in the synagogue. Hamburger therefore decided to sever his connection with the Great Shool and, in 1704, a number of his Hamburg friends joined him in establishing the Hambro Synagogue, with a service conducted according to the Hamburg ritual. The Wardens, however, of the two existing London synagogues in Creechurch Lane and Duke's Place succeeded in persuading the City Corporation to forbid the establishment of a third public place of worship. But they could not stop him from erecting a private synagogue in the garden of his house in Fenchurch Street. Hamburger's business declining, he emigrated to India, where he made a great fortune in gold and precious stones, but the synagogue in his garden was maintained during his absence. After ten years, he returned to London, the voyage lasting ten months. When he came back, he was accorded a great ovation, duly reported in the newspapers of the day. He was even said to have brought back with him the greatest diamond ever seen in Europe

Queen Anne succeeded to the throne in 1702, a date memorable for the London Jews in two opposite regards. The famous synagogue in Bevis Marks was opened in that year and remains a dignified monument of the taste of its founder. But conversionist activities are shown to be alive by the fact that, in the same year, an Act of Parliament was passed to "oblige Jews to provide for their Protestant children."

One of the main beams of the Bevis Marks Synagogue was presented to the congregation by Queen Anne as special mark of her favor. The cost of the building was £2,750 and the builder, a Quaker called Avis, gave back his profit to the Synagogue, because he did not wish to make profit out of so sacred a labor. Some of the candlesticks were brought over from Amsterdam and much of the synagogue furniture came from the old building erected some twenty years previously, shortly after the Great Fire. At that time hostile Jew-baiters had absurdly suggested that the Sefardim were in treaty with the Government for the purchase of the Old St. Paul's Cathedral

London: Published by Alex.r Hogg at the Kings Arms No. 16 Paternoster Row.



Scott Sc.

The Jewish manner of **HOLDING UP** *the* **LAW** *in the sight of the people, at* Duke's Place, **LONDON.**

Interior of Duke's Place Synagogue, London for half a million sterling—a revival of the absurd rumor to which Monmouth referred in 1657.

In 1718 the Attorney General decided that English born Jews could own land. Hamburger took advantage of this and acquired the freehold of his house and garden in Magpie Alley, Fenchurch Street. In 1721 he erected or restored, in the garden, the place of worship, known as the "Hambro Shool". The Corporation, no doubt at the instigation of the rival synagogues, again attempted to restrain him, but he went on building and the synagogue was opened in 1726 as a place for public worship. Hamburger attained a ripe old age and the Hambro Shool prospered greatly and was, for over two centuries, one of the three principal synagogues in the Metropolis.

In 1722 the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place was opened. Its Wardens were Moses Hart, Lazarus Simon and Isaac and Abraham Franks. Moses Hart's partner was the wealthy Benjamin Levy, the only German Jew who had been admitted to full membership of the Sefardic Community. He was one of the 32 proprietors of the "Western Division of the Jersey", i.e. New Jersey.[121] In 1696 this Levy bought the Globe Road Cemetery for his German co-religionists. His daughter-in-law, Mrs. Judith Levy (1706–1803), who survived her husband for more than half a century, was a munificent benefactress of the synagogue in 1765. She was known as the Queen of Richmond Green. Her father was Moses Hart, and his sister Abigail was the great-grandmother of John Adolphus, the historian.

[121] American Jewish Historical Society, XVI, 187; XVII, 30-7.

Moses Hart's brother, Aaron, was appointed Rabbi of the Great Synagogue in the same year that saw its consecration. His portrait by the famous engraver James McArdell from a painting by Dandridge, shows us a stately and venerable figure of an old man of 81 with a flowing white beard and benevolent eyes. He wears a skull cap and holds in his right hand a folded parchment document which significantly enough appears to be a *Get* (Bill of Divorce). His hand is resting on a folio volume with a Hebrew Title ("Bet Shemuel"). In 1734, under his auspices, the Talmud Torah School was founded in connection with the synagogue. This school was ultimately incorporated with the Jews' Free School.

Meantime, the Portuguese Community had flourished under the firm leadership of David Nieto or Netto (1654–1701.)[121a] He was a deep thinker, eloquent preacher and keen controversialist. Several of his Sermons and Responsa were printed and are extant. He wrote in Hebrew, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, but could not escape opposition from meaner minds. It was alleged that his opinions tended towards the pantheistic doctrine of Spinoza. A sermon delivered by him at Bevis Marks in 1703 was specially selected for attack. In justification of the views therein expressed he wrote a treatise on the Divine Providence, and the *Mahamad* (Board of Management) appealed to the Amsterdam *Bet Din* for their guidance on the subject. But the *Bet Din* laid down conditions inacceptable to the *Mahamad*, who in a fit of temper passed a resolution never to apply to Amsterdam in future. The leader of the opposition, Sarphati or Zarphatti, was excommunicated and thirteen of his supporters were excluded from the Synagogue and threatened with the like punishment. Ultimately the *Haham* of Altona settled the dispute and Nieto was vindicated.

[121a] For dates, details and bibliography see "David Nieto and some of his Contemporaries," about to be published by the J. H. S. The author, the late Israel Solomons, was an indefatigable collector of Anglo-Judaica. His collection is now in the library of the J. T. S., New York.

David Nieto died in 1728 and, five years later, his son Isaac Nieto was appointed in his place. After eight years he resigned and went abroad and was succeeded by *Haham* Moses Gomez de Mesquita, who died in 1751. Mesquita's funeral was notable for the fact that orations in his memory were pronounced at his grave by his predecessor Isaac Nieto and also by the Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim, Rabbi Aaron Hart. In 1727 George II came to the throne and was distinguished for his tolerance and indeed favor to the Jews. He encouraged legislation tending to remove their political disabilities. In 1739 an Act of Parliament was passed for naturalizing such foreign Protestants and others therein mentioned, as are settled or shall settle in any of His Majesty's Colonies in America. 189 Jews took advantage of this Act, of whom 151 were in Jamaica, 24 in New York, nine in Pennsylvania, four in Maryland and one in South Carolina.

Two years later in De Wetlogan's *Arts and Sciences* (II, 269), English Jews are said to "enjoy the privileges of a Christian subject, few excepted, only for Form sake and which are of little or no signification.

It is true that they behave with a great deal of Decency, Circumspection, and are very good subjects; encourage Commerce, in which most of them are well vers'd. They have two Synagogues in London one for the *Portuguese*, *Italians*, &c., and the other for the *Dutch Jews*. That of the *Portuguese* is the finest; and their Ceremonies perform'd with a greater Decency."

After the Young Pretender, Charles Edward, made his unsuccessful invasion of Scotland and England in 1745, a further advance in the position of the London Jews resulted. This was due to the famous Jewish stockbroker Samson Gideon, "the great oracle of Jonathan's Coffee House," who, at this time, financed the Government. His timely help inclined both Government and people to appreciate the Jew at his true value. But Gideon was not staunch in his Judaism and married a Gentile, and, as Horace Walpole wrote of him in 1753, "breeds his children Christians." A baronetcy was conferred on his son in 1759, while still a school boy at Eton. He took the surname of Eardley and was raised to the Jewish peerage as Lord Eardley of Spalding, the "first of his race to come to such rank in England." In 1745 the London Jews intervened, not altogether without success, with the Empress Maria Theresa, on her expulsion of the Jews from Bohemia and Moravia. George II and the Duke of Cumberland induced her to spare the ancient Community of Prague, and a prayer for their welfare was constituted by the grateful Bohémian Jews.[122] These persecutions caused an influx of foreign Jews into London. Among these was the famous painter John Zoffany. He was one of the original members of the Royal Academy and painted theater scenes for David Garrick. Some of his best pictures are at Windsor Castle and the Garrick Club. He was a Frankfort Jew of Bohemian origin and when he first came to London lodged with Lyons.[123] The first of the Ashkenazic charities of London, the Initiation Society, was established in the same year, 1745. But it was political rather than charitable progress which was then being sought by the Communal leaders. In 1746 a "Committee of Diligence" was appointed to watch over Jewish interests, after a Jewish Naturalization Bill for Ireland had been rejected by the Irish Parliament. This, as we shall see later, afterwards developed into the Board of Deputies.

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[122] Steinschneider's "Geschichte und Literatur," p. 241.

In 1752 the three congregations, Bevis Marks, Duke's Place Shool and the Hambro Shool united to prevent unauthorized conversions to Judaism. This paved the way for the Jewish Naturalization Act of the following year. Mr. Pelham induced Parliament to pass this Act, "to permit persons professing Jewish Religion to be naturalized by Parliament and for other purposes." But the London mob was incensed at this concession. "No Jews, no wooden shoes," became the popular cry of the day. The Government could not withstand this clamor and, in the very next session, the Act was repealed because "occasion had been taken from the said Act to raise discontents and disquiets in the minds of his Majesty's subjects." Quite a number of pamphlets and newspaper articles were published on this Jew question, most of them, like the *Gentleman's Magazine*, unfriendly. The *Evening Post* and the *Public Advertiser* were honorable exceptions. Also Smollett's character, Joshua Manasseh, in the *Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*, published in 1753, is notable as an early effort in English Literature to do justice to the Jew. Naturally the Jew Bill provided welcome material for the writer of pamphlets, satires and lampoons, and even more so for the makers of caricatures. One of the rarest depicts the wondrous progress of the Jew to be expected after a hundred years if the Bill passed into law. The premature liberty conferred by the 1753 Act turned out to be a curse in disguise. It proved abortive, and real emancipation in England was thereby postponed for a century. An attempt to revive the "Jew Bill" in 1765 was unsuccessful and Jews were expressly excepted from the benefits of the Irish Naturalization Act of 1783.

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[123] See Times Literary Supplement for 25th March, 1920, p. 199.

In 1756 Rabbi Aaron Hart died and was succeeded in the Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue by Hirsch Lobel or Levin, a nephew of the famous R. Jacob Emden of Hamburg. He anglicized his name into Hart Lyon. His four Intercession Services for 1759 and 1760 are still extant. But though he received the then large salary of £250, he did not find London a bed of roses. Doubts were cast, especially by one Jacob Kimhi, on the efficiency of the *shohetim* he licensed; and another secession was threatened by some important members of his congregation. He resigned office in disgust in 1764, but not before an infant Solomon had been born to him, who became his successor some thirty years later and took the surname Hirschel as his patronymic. Rabbi Hart Lyon, or Levin, as he again called himself on his return to Germany, became Rabbi of Halberstadt, Mannheim and Berlin in succession. He playfully contrasted his respective flocks. "In London", he said, "I had money but no Jews; in Mannheim, Jews but no money; in Berlin, neither money nor Jews." He was a little hard on Berlin, for, when in that city, he enjoyed the friendship and esteem of the great Moses Mendelssohn, and collaborated with him in the publication of a book on Jewish ritual. His Commonplace Book is in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.[124] It contains poems, riddles, Responsa and Cabalistica. His son Saul returned to London and was buried "in his clothes" in 1794 at the Cemetery in Ducking Pond Lane, now Alderney Road, which was opened in 1786.

The authorities of the Great Shool were very wroth when its recalcitrant members insisted on opening a new synagogue. They passed and published a resolution protesting that "certain persons unworthy of our Countenance and Protection have lately formed themselves into a society calling themselves a Congregation at Bricklayers Hall. We do hereby strictly charge our priest now and hereafter that he does not directly or indirectly or other in his name or with his knowledge and permission, officiate either Publick or private in the services of Marriages,

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[124] MS. Adler, 2286.

Burials, Circumcision or any other act of priesthood for any person whatsoever belonging to the said Society."

Their opposition, however, was of no avail, and in 1762 the "New Synagogue" was opened in Buckler's (or Bricklayer's) afterwards Sussex Hall, opposite Cree Church, Leadenhall Street. Like the members of the Great Shool and the Hambro Shool, the members of this congregation maintained a rabbi of their own. But about the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were induced to submit to one and the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Moses Cohen de Azevedo (died 1784) was appointed *Haham* of the Portuguese Community in 1756. In 1765, David Schiff, of whom we shall have more to say later on, was appointed Rabbi of the Great Shool and the *Medinah* (provinces), but the Hambro and New Synagogues remained independent of his authority and had rabbis of their own. In 1771, although Jewish immigration into England was expressly restricted, the Great Shool successfully resisted, in the Courts, a claim to impose upon it Church rates. In 1779 the *Meshibat Nefesh* or "Society for the Relief of the Aged Needy of the Jewish Faith", was established by the Ashkenazim of London, but it was not till 1794 that the first attempt towards their union in charitable work was made when the three German synagogues (Great, Hambro and New) combined for the relief of their poor. This had become the more necessary by reason of anti-Alien legislation of 1792.

The mutual rancors of the different Ashkenazic synagogues had become by this time appeased. Joint *Shehitah* proposals were also entertained, though they did not mature until 1805.

The Church of England, as established, suffered humiliation under Cromwell. After the Revolution, dissenters were no longer dangerous and what disabilities they were under were only of a theological nature. Jews, as we have seen, were enabled to live again in England and might even erect synagogues there. Catholics, however, were politically dangerous and the cruelties perpetrated by Louis XV of France upon Protestants were not forgotten in England. But even against them the law was not rigidly enforced and private worship was tolerated. In 1778 three of the glaring disabilities of the Roman Catholics were repealed. The public however were not sufficiently ripe for such tolerance and the No Popery riots of 1780 left London in the hands of an incendiary mob for several days. The chief instigator of these riots was Lord George Gordon, who was foolishly tried for high treason and acquitted. Gordon was a strange unbalanced religious enthusiast. His hatred of idolatry made him veer violently away from all Christianity whatsoever and turned his thoughts to Judaism, as the only true monotheistic faith. He sought to be admitted as a proselyte, but Chief Rabbi Schiff, an amiable but not a strong character, deemed it only prudent to refuse the request, as being conrary to an implied, if not express, condition imposed upon the Jews, before they were allowed to settle again in the country. Perhaps, too, Schiff was not convinced of the strength of the aspirant's convictions. Nothing daunted, Lord George proceeded to Birmingham, where there was a small Jewish community. He was circumcized there by a *Mohel*, Mr. Myers, who claimed to be, and perhaps was, independent of the jurisdiction of the London Rabbi. Gordon returned to London and his conversion was loudly canvassed as a topic of the day. It did not lead to the dreaded result of anti-Jewish disturbances, but he became the object of a whole series of lampoons and caricatures. It provoked not indignation but amusement.

By this time some of the London Jews were migrating westwards. About 1768, *minyan* was held in Bedford Row at the private house of a Russian merchant, Baron L. de Symons. But the neighbors objected to the noise of the *shofar* and service had to be held elsewhere. In 1797 it moved to Denmark Court, Strand, where a synagogue was opened in a building, once the Gallery of the Royal Academy, then of the Polygraphic Society and then Dibdin's Sans Souci Theater.[125] This was afterwards known as the Westminster or Western Synagogue and was the first of the synagogues established outside the City.

In 1759 the British Museum was opened and, to celebrate the occasion, the veteran Solomon da Costa presented to the Trustees a collection of three Hebrew manuscripts and 180 printed books which formed the nucleus of the magnificent Hebrew Library at Bloomsbury. Catalogues of these books were written out by da Costa in Hebrew and English. The original autographs, in duplicate, bound up in one volume, are still preserved at the Museum.

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[125] "The Western Synagogue," by Matthias Levy, London 1897.

In his dedicatory epistle, written in a neat minuscular hand, da Costa tells how his father had come to England from Amsterdam, a refugee from Spain and, for four and fifty years, he himself had lived in this great City of London, without hurt or hindrance, without fear or trembling. He extols England's magnificent tolerance to the Jews and begs the nation to accept his thanksgiving offering. The books, he says, had belonged to King Charles II and been bought by himself in his youth. Da Costa seems to have been a merchant and his literary tastes, though remarkably good, were not too good for a business man. Curiously enough, he presented, in 1765, a masoretic Bible, not to the Museum but to the Royal Society[126] (Kennicott's Codex, 1128) and the same is now deposited in the Library of the India Office.

A printed Hebrew Bible of 1732 had been in 1763 given to the Royal Society by its Librarian Emanuel Mendes da Costa (1717–1791). This da Costa was a botanist and the son of Abraham Mendes da Costa, whose father Alvaro da Costa had married the sister of Antonio Mendes and left Portugal in 1692 and migrated to London after ten years' residence in Rouen. Emanuel's brother Jacob was, in 1733, the unsuccessful plaintiff, in the Court of Arches, in an action he brought for breach of promise against his cousin, Mrs. Villareal, afterwards Melhuish. Emanuel was a collector of books and manuscripts, many of which are now at the British Museum. He had as keen an eye for curiosities of literature as his distant kinsman Isaac Disraeli. He contributed many valuable papers to the *Philosophical Transactions*, was a representative Jew of the best type and took an interest in his people's history. It was among his papers that the contemporary list [127] of Jews of the resettlement was found. His brother enjoyed the favor of King George the Third and, as will be seen from the following letter, was consulted by him on high questions of State. During the famous siege of Gibraltar (1779–1783) by the combined forces of France and Spain, the help of Morocco was likely to be of great value to England. The Moorish Emperor, in 1782, sent a Jewish envoy to London, Jacob Benider (attended by Sebag, the ancestor of the Sebag-Montefiores), and King George writes to Mr. Townshend to arrange as to his reception:—

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[126] The Royal Society has always had distinguished Jewish members. Its first Secretary, Dr. Oldenburg, was a frequent correspondent of Spinoza. Sarmento, the mathematician (1725), Sir Moses Montefiore, Professor Meldola and the second Lord Rothschild are among its prominent members.

Windsor, Sept. 12th., 1782.
m. 27 p. 8 p. m.

"This instant I have received Mr. Townshend's letter concerning the Jew the Emperor of Morocco has entrusted with a letter for me from a desire of renewing the Peace and of giving assistance of provisions as formerly; the mode is so new that I am under some difficulty of knowing how to give directions though the wishing it may be conveyed privately assists me in the idea, that the most suitable method will be to let Mr. Townshend introduce him in private at the Queen's House, for he would not be properly introduced at St. James's unless he came in a public character; if Mr. Townshend can therefore be at the Queen's House at half past eleven to-morrow and will bring this Jew and Mr. Mendes de Costa the business may pass without any further preparation. If Mr. Townshend cannot bring him then if he will only send a Box there by that hour acquainting me he cannot attend I shall then go on as usual to St. James's.

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[127] See below, p.192 .

George R."

De Costa was Benjamin Mendes da Costa, who in 1746 had been a member of the "Committee of Diligence" to which reference has already been made. He was also chairman of the seven "Deputados" delegated by the "Portuguese Nation" i. e. the Sefardic Community, to wait upon the King in 1760 on his accession to the throne.

CHAPTER XVIII

LONDON ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

A CURIOUS light upon the condition of the Jews shortly after the return and the risks they ran, is thrown by the Old Bailey Trials, some of which are anything but edifying reading.

Thus, John Smith was indicted on the 17th of January 1700 for two misdemeanors. The first was for kidnapping and trepanning one Joseph Portal (Portugal), a Jew, on board a ship and causing him to be conveyed to Maryland in parts beyond the seas into slavery. He was likewise indicted for spiriting and trepanning Samuel Cooper, a Christian youth, whom he also sent into slavery.

The evidence for the King deposed that Joseph Portal came from Ceuta in Africa to see his friends in England and had been here for but two days before he was enticed off from the Exchange to an office by St. Mary Hill and there bound to serve Smith the prisoner and that, from that time, he was sent on board and seen in England no more. The facts being plainly proved against Smith, the Jury found him guilty of both indictments and the Court sentenced him to stand three times in the pillory and fined him £80.[128]

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[128] A Compleat Collection of Remarkable Tryals, Vol. 2, page 24.

Smith's punishment was not of much service to Joseph Portal, but the condition of the Jews in the United States in the eighteenth century was not inferior to that of their co-religionists in England. The Jews of New York, however, in their beginnings showed a not unnatural regard and almost feudal loyalty to the Sefardic Community of London.

The records of the Jewish Community in New York,[129] especially those preserved in the Lyons Collection, are full of references which show this close relationship. Prior to the Declaration of Independence, and even afterwards, ritual questions and requests for the selection of proper spiritual officials were constantly referred to the Sefardic Congregation at Bevis Marks. When, in 1729, the New York Jews began to build their Synagogue, *Shearith Israel*, funds were raised by the sale of several foundation stones. Of the four offered, the first stone, we are told, "is to remain unsold for the present, awaiting the decision of Mr. Abraham de Mucata (Mocatta) of London, to whom it has been offered." The 1737 accounts of the Congregation contain items about several "passages to London" of Synagogue officials. In 1757 the Elders are ordered to draw up a letter requesting the "Parnaseem" (Wardens) and *Mahamad* (Council) of *K. K. Shaare Shamayim* in London "to send us a proper Chazan." This communication was brought to London by Moses Franks. Two months later, the five "Parnaseem" and the "Gubbay" reply that they have made "enquiry and some have applied themselves, though not such as we could entirely wish, however, it is possible that in a little time longer some one may appear worthier of our recommendation."

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[129] See Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 21 (1913) and No. 27 (1920).

Ultimately Joseph Jessurun Pinto was recommended and sent out. Apparently he did not at first give satisfaction, for in a long and interesting letter he protests against being discharged. He writes: "It is very painful to me that after having left my native place, the great City of Amsterdam, and come to a more popular City more highly praised and more glorious than all others, where I began to find rest for my feet that now, after having come hither across the dangerous seas, I should be obliged once more to go to lands or places which neither I nor my ancestors knew."

In 1775 the *Parnas* acquainted a meeting of his synagogue members that he had received a letter from London, requesting the assistance of this *Kaal* (Congregation) toward the distressed poor of Smyrna, as also a letter from Mr. Isaac Decasta (da Costa) of Charlestown, requesting assistance towards building a synagogue, which letters, being read, it was resolved that "it is not in the power of this Congregation at present to give any moneys towards any of those Causes." Again, in May, 1775, at a meeting, Mr. Hayman Levy moved that, to avoid further disputes concerning the appointment of Trustees, "a list be made out of all reputable *Yaheedim* and others congregating with us to be sent to Mr. Franks of London and whomever Mr. Franks shall appoint to be deemed good."

The Franks family was important both in London and in NewYork. Aaron Franks was a Hanoverian jeweller, a good friend of George II, whom he accompanied in 1729 from Hanover to England, and to whom he lent the most valuable jewels for the crown used at his Coronation. Isaac Franks and Abraham Franks, the first Wardens of Duke's Place Shool, were apparently his sons. Jacob and Moses Franks, his grandsons, emigrated to America. Jacob was appointed the "King and Government Agent" for New York and the Northern Colonies. His son, David Franks (1720–1793), was a loyalist during the War of the American Revolution and it is probably David to whom the resolution refers.

In 1791 the *Bet Din* of the Portuguese Congregation in London advised their New York colleagues as to the removal of their dead from their old burial ground and their reinterment in a new cemetery. In their letter, replying to one adressed to the *Haham*, they say that they supply the place of the *Haham* which had been vacant since the death of "their much respected and learned Minister Mr. Moses Cohen d'Azevedo."

Later on, we come across a strange entry about Mohawk natives carried to London for exhibition by New York Jews.[130] A curious personality of the nineteenth century was a Moorish Jewess born in 1699, who came to London about 1740 and after living there for thirty or forty years emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780, and died there in 1819 "after having completed 120 years of an active and various life."

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[130] Broadhead: Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Albany 1856, Vol. 7, pages 708–709.

The War of Independence, which separated the United States from England, was necessarily of profound concern to the London Jews. This is reflected in various official and non-official pamphlets and papers, Forms of Prayer, and Orders of Service for the 13th of December 1776, the day appointed by Royal Proclamation for a General Fast, to pray for the success of His Majesty's Arms. Copies of these are extant for both the German and Portuguese Congregations, and sermons were preached on those occasions.

Reference to the War also occurs in the correspondence of Chief Rabbi Tevele Schiff. He complains that his modest emoluments are threatened by the financial crisis occasioned by the war. But apart from the general discomfort and ruin caused by it, although the bulk of the London Jews were unquestionably loyalists, there were some who, by reason of their association with American relatives and friends, and also perhaps because of an honest conviction that the rebellious colonists were in the right, identified themselves with the democrats. These favored the American cause and, in consequence, ran no inconsiderable risk of punishment for high treason. Such was the Reverend Emanuel Nunes Carvalho, born in London in 1771, who became minister of the Barbados Portuguese Congregation, afterwards, in 1806, Professor of Oriental Languages in New York and later minister in Charleston and afterwards in Philadelphia.

About 1819, shortly after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars and the re-establishment of peace with America, a strong movement set in for emigration from London to the United States. Notwithstanding the glories of the Battle of Waterloo, victory had, as usual, been followed by industrial depression and financial crisis. Some Jews, quite rightly, imagined that they might remedy or make their fortunes in America. We find that, in 1819, one W. D. Robinson published a "Memoir addressed to persons of the Jewish Religion in Europe, on the subject of emigration to and settlement in one of the most eligible parts of the United States of America." An American Jew, Mordecai Manuel Noah, had conceived the idea that it would be well to establish a Jewish Colony on Grand Island in the State of New York.

On the 24th of October, 1825, the *Times* published a small leading article on the subject, as well as Noah's proclamation, in which he signs himself, "by the grace of God, Governor and Judge of Israel"! There is extant an unpublished drawing, caricaturing the threatened "departure of the Israelites for the Yanky City of Refuge." Noah is standing on the Ark, on the top of his American Ararat, and the Jews that are going to cross are depicted as overburdened with guineas and with stock. Here, again, the caricaturist surprises us by presenting some fashionable types of face, which are, to say the least, unexpected. The steamers, waiting to ferry the Israelites across, are also novelties, for it was only in 1819 that the first steamship crossed the Atlantic.

W. D. Howells has a picturesque reference to Noah's scheme when he describes a visit to Niagara in *Their Wedding Journey.* He writes:—

"They gave a sigh to that dream, half pathetic, half ludicrous, yet not ignoble, of Mordecai Noah, who thought to assemble all the Jews of the world, and all the Indians, as remnants of the lost tribes, upon Grand Island, there to rebuild Jerusalem, and who actually laid the corner-stone of the new temple there."

CHAPTER XIX

CHIEF RABBI SCHIFF

When Rabbi Zevi Hirschel Lewin left London for Berlin, the leading London Jews endeavored to concentrate the Rabbinate in one Chief Rabbi. But there was a split in the Community. The famous R. Jacob Emden of Hamburg, Schiff's cousin, sought to get his son Israel Zalman or Solomon Meshullam, the "Rabby" above referred to, appointed as Lewin's successor and he was, in fact, made *Rav* of the Hambro Shool. Ultimately, however, through the influence of Aaron Goldsmid, the ancestor of the Goldsmids, David Tevele Schiff, *Dayyan* of Frankfort on the Main, was elected by the Great Synagogue as Chief Rabbi of "London and the Provinces" (*Medinah*). He was installed in 1765. He is a connecting link in the pedigrees of the Schiffs and the Adlers.

Schiff's letters[131] are illuminating as to the relations between his English Community and the Continent, America and India. Enquiries are addressed to him from all parts, especially in connection with marriage or divorce. Thus, we read of a poor woman whose husband left her for Jamaica and died at sea; of a German immigrant who deserted his wife in Bavaria and is to be persuaded (by the Rabbi of Fürth) to give her *Get*; of a Cohen who marries an Indian native; of one of the "children of the Ghetto" who goes through the form of a Jewish wedding ceremony in the presence of a witness, as a "joke".

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[131] See MS. Adler, 4111.

He writes to Rabbi Nathan Maas of Frankfort with an account of the reconsecration, in 1766, of the Great Shool at Duke's Place. Schiff had composed the Hebrew form of prayer used on that occasion. It appeared with an English rendering by David Levi, the translator of the Prayer-book and Festival Prayers. We are told that "Mrs. (Judith) Levi of Albermarle Street, relict of the late Elias Levi Esq.," was the chief benefactress "in emulation of her father, the late Moses Hart Esq.," who had borne a considerable part of the cost of the original building.

The following are notes from some of his autograph letters.

In Adar 1776 Aaron Goldsmid writes to Jacob Huk about Meir Schiff's candidature and says that Meir's brother Tevele was only a *Dayyan* "and yet, thank God, we know how famous he is."

In 1780 Schiff complains of the ignorance of Londoners, of the troubles caused by the competition of the Hambro Shool and of attempts to curtail his salary of £200. He has marriage fees, but the *Hazzanim* officiate at most weddings and he himself had celebrated only one during that year. Still he had made something by way of marriage brokerage!

In 1781 he intervenes for the release of Isaac Polak, the *Hazzan* of Duke's Place Shool, who had been imprisoned for debt.

In 1782 he complains of War taxation. Nobody can understand another country, and England remains inexplicable to foreigners. What alien can understand "our War", the ways of Parliament, the King's power, the prospects of peace with America? He describes his attitude towards Wessely and the *Maskilim* (modern Jewish rationalists) "without, God forbid, presuming to criticize the Emperor" (Joseph of Austria, who had pardoned them).

In 1787 he has modest doubts about his own learning and shrinks from publishing his Novellae and Responsa.

In 1785 he describes his appeals for clemency for a poor Jewish lad who had been condemned to death for theft. He did not wish Jews to sign the petition for reprieve, as intervention by Gentiles would carry more weight with the authorities. He is glad to be quiet and keep a clear head when engaged in *Shidduch reden* (i. e. endeavoring to make up a match).

CHAPTER XX

PROMINENT LONDON JEWS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THROUGHOUT the eighteenth century the better class Jews of London had come into closer contact with their neighbors of another faith. Such social guides as the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the newspapers of the time begin to treat their Hebrew fellow subjects with increasing respect — especially if they were wealthy. Even the caricaturists have their laugh, not always ill-natured, at the foppish or overdressed Jew of the mode. At the theater and the concert hall the Jews were much in evidence. Then as now, they were keen enthusiasts for music. Handel, who lived in England from 1710 till his death in 1759, while he basked in royal patronage and received pensions from two of the Georges, is said to have been "much patronized by the English Jews". During Mozart's visit to London in 1764,[132] it is recorded that he was a guest at no less than five of the Jewish houses of the metropolis.

Azulai (1724–1807), traveller and prolific writer and the first of Hebrew bibliographers, visited Paris in 1778. In his autobiography, he tells a story of his meeting certain French noblemen and their conver-

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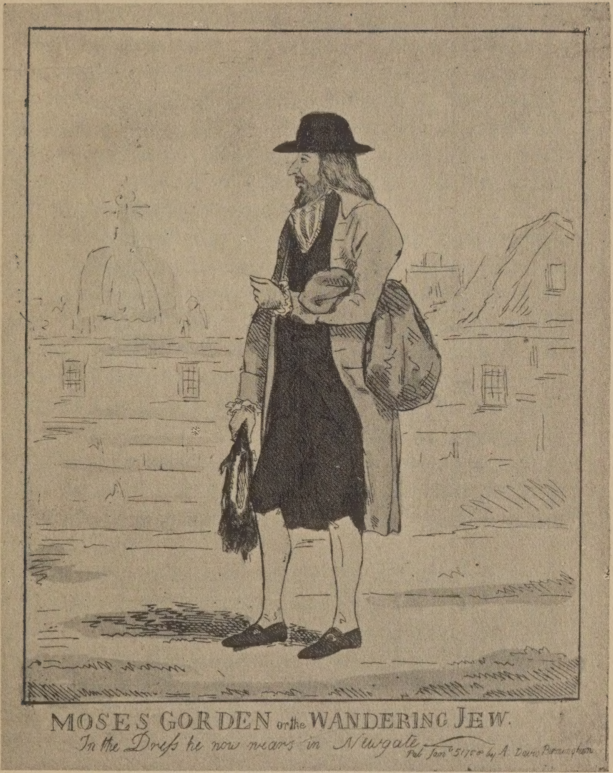
[132] Times Literary Supplement: 27th Jan. 1921, p. 57.


MOSES GORDEN or the WANDERING JEW.
In the Dreſs he now wears in Newgate
Pub Jany 5 1788 by A. Davis Birmingham

Moses Gorden or the Wandering Jew

sation with him about the *Baal Shem* of London[133]. He tells of a financial crisis there, which frightened the notables of Amsterdam and made them button up their pockets, when he appealed to them for aid. The complete manuscript, from which only extracts have been published, is in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. He also visited London, and it is quite interesting to read what he has to say about the London Jews. He was not much impressed by their liberality.

In 1746 a physician, Meyer Löw Schomberg (1690–1761), perhaps an ancestor of the Belmonts of New York, wrote in Hebrew a sort of Apology for his Life called "Emunat Omen", which sheds considerable light on the London Community of his day.[134] A native of Fetzburg and an M.D. of Giessen, he was admitted Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, London, in 1722. After starting as communal Doctor at the Great Shool, he soon acquired a successful practice among the families of the leading merchants, and was reputed to earn four thousand guineas a year.

Schomberg's strictures upon the London Jews of his day are more scathing than those of their Chief Rabbi. "They break the Ten Commandments," he says, "their God is Mammon or the Nithsday Bank. On the Sabbath they go on Change, to learn, whether 'India Band' or 'Sweet Sea' has gone up or down, and scruple not to garnish a bankrupt's banking account on the sacred day. They eat forbidden food and marry gentiles in church. They despise Jewish girls and won't marry them, because their position or family is not good enough. In their overseas bargains, they steal from their customers. They slander and bear false witness. As for himself, they call him a bad Jew, because he carries a sword and rides in a coach on Saturdays, when he goes to visit his patients. He cannot practise among Jews because Jews don't pay Jewish doctors a living wage, though they gladly heap gold upon a Christian physician."

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[133] Revue des Etudes Juives, LXV, 243.
[134] MS. Adler, 2245

(Hayyim) Samuel (Jacob) Falk,[135] commonly known as Dr. Falk (1708–82), was one of the most extraordinary characters of London Jewry from 1740 till his death. He was a native of Fürth, but, after being nearly burnt as a wizard in Germany, escaped to England. He was known as the *Baal Shem* of London. His diary, now in the Bet Midrash of the United Synagogue, is a "quaint medley of dreams, records of charitable gifts, book lists, cabalistic names of angels, lists of pledges, and cooking recipes."[136] He had a valet, almost as strange as himself, Zebi Hirsch, son of Levi the *Shtadlan* (government agent) of Kalisch. This valet also kept a diary[137] (1747–1751), which throws much light on the wonders worked by his master. Both diaries refer to that "windbag," Laze Levi of Hamburg. This man seems to have been a secret agent, sent by Falk to Holland and Germany on mysterious missions, and was perhaps in negotiation with adherents of the sect founded by the false messiah Sabbatai Zevi. Laze was related to a rich man, Selig Hamburg, in London, but seems to have had little means of his own. He constantly borrowed small sums from the valet, who punctiliously entered the amounts among his memoranda. This "Laze" was known in London as Lazar Hamburger, otherwise Lazarus Joseph, and was the ancestor of the Franklins of London. Falk seems to have persuaded his superstitious contemporaries, Christian and Jewish, that he could discover hidden treasure and work other marvels, such as the transmutation of metals, for he died a comparatively rich man. Probably also, he was prominent as a freemason. By his will, he left trust legacies, of which the income is still enjoyed by the Great Synagogue, the Chief Rabbi of England and the Jewish Congregation of Fürth. The will was unsuccessfully contested by his great friend Lehman.[138] His portrait by Copley R. A. shows him "garbed in a flowing robe, which strikingly harmonizes with his long white beard and venerable features." In the *Gentleman's Magazine*[139] of 1762 we can read "An Extraordinary Narrative of a Cabalist concerning Dr. Falk," which throws light on the credulity of his age.

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[135] Cf. Jewish Historical Society Transactions, VIII; Revue des Etudes Juives, LXV, 253.

[136] See H. Adler's Article on Falk in the Jewish Encyclopaedia.

[137] MS. Adler, No. 2241.

The Honorable Baron Ephraim Lopes Pereira d'Aguilar (1740–1802), a native of Vienna, was the eldest son of a Marrano who escaped to England from Lisbon in 1722 and in 1736 went to Austria "for the purpose of making proposals to the then Empress to farm the tobacco and snuff duties." In this undertaking he had been so very successful that he not only became a confidential favorite with the Empress but was appointed her cashier. In 1756 he returned to England with his twelve children. The eldest, Ephraim, succeeded to the title "procured by the Baron's ancestors some hundred years ago for certain services performed in favor of the English." He was twice married and lived in great style in Broad Street Buildings, in a house built by his father-in-law Mendes Da Costa, Esq. But, having lost a large estate of about 15,000 acres and an elegant mansion, etc. in America owing to the then war (which he never endeavored to recover), these and other losses, together with domestic disagreements, induced him to alter his plan of living and, on the expiration of the lease of his house in Broad Street Buildings, he renounced the character of a gentleman and became rude, slovenly and careless of his person and conduct, totally withdrawing himself from his family connections and the gay world. He lived as a miser till his death in 1802. He was buried at the Jews' Burying Ground at Mile End, his funeral being attended by about half a dozen coaches containing between twenty and thirty Jews, among whom were some of his relatives. His diamonds were valued at £15,000. At Shaftesbury Place his valuable library was sold. The first day's sale consisted of English books and the second of Hebrew and others.[140]

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[138] See Hills in J. H. S., VIII, 127 and Henriques in J. H. S. Miscellanies, 1925, p. XLV.

[139] XXXII, 418.

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[140] Wonderful Magazine, 1802, p. 141.

The above mentioned Aaron Goldsmid was a prominent merchant carrying on business in Holland towards the middle of the eighteenth century. Schiff's correspondent would appear to have been Benedict Levi Goldschmidt of Hamburg. His son, Schiff's patron, established himself in Amsterdam and then came to London. The Goldsmids were descendants of Moses Uri ha-Levi of Emden, the first Rabbi of Amsterdam (1544–1622). Their name is derived from the family trade of goldsmith. Aaron settled in London in 1765, residing first in Gun Square, Houndsditch, and then at Leman Street, Goodmans Fields, where he founded the firm of Aaron Goldsmid and Sons. He died in 1782, leaving eight sons, of whom the eldest, George, was his partner and, joining Mr. Mocatta of Mansell Street, founded the eminent firm of Mocatta and Goldsmid, the bullion brokers. Two other sons, Abraham (1756–1810) and Benjamin, carried on a separate business in partnership and, after 1792, grew rich through their dealings with the British Government. Benjamin had a fine country house and park of two hundred acres at Roehampton, near Kew so magnificent that it was compared to Windsor Castle. As Levy Alexander writes in his amusing but somewhat scandalous biography:[141] "Everything is here on a scale of magnificence and beauty equal to any Nobleman's country seat. Drawing, Music and Dancing Rooms, furnished with the highest taste and latest fashions, with a profusion of ornamental as well as useful articles. Ice houses, hot houses, the whole forming an accommodation fit for the reception of a Prince. In this house he has been visited by Mr. Dundas and also the Royal family, unexpected, when he entertained them in a manner highly to their satisfaction." He was the founder of the Naval Asylum, Greenwich, and, in 1797, of the Jews' Hospital, Mile End. A favorite of both Pitt and the Duke of Kent, he did not allow his worldly success to damp his communal activities. He liberally supported the Synagogue and the Chief Rabbi and was a generous patron of poor David Levi.[142] In 1808, in a fit of despondency, Benjamin Goldsmid committed suicide. His brother Abraham continued the business and, two years later, joined with Sir Francis Baring in the issue of an English Government loan for £1,400,000. But Sir Francis died suddenly, which started a panic in the City; the stock fell and Abraham also committed suicide. His nephew was

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[141] "Memoirs of the Life of Benj. Goldsmid Esq., of Roehampton," London 1808 (page 95). The author was brother and printer of A. Alexander, who translated the Prayer Book in 1770 and "The Evening Service of the Eve of the day of Atonement according to the Order of the Dutch Jews," in 1787.

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[142] (1740–1799). Translator of the Daily and Festival Prayers for both Ashkenazim and Sefardim (1789–1793), author of a Hebrew and English Dictionary and of a grammar called "Lingua Sacra" (1785–7), "a person of mean extraction and originally bred up a Shoemaker, followed afterwards the business of a Hatter, in which laborious occupation he became an Author and lastly, by the above-mentioned patronage, Printer and Bookseller" (op. cit. p. 91). This rather unhandsome account of a remarkable man is due to the rivalry of a less successful translator. Levy wrote a spirited reply to Priestley's "Letters addressed to the Jews" (1787) and to Paine's "Age of Reason." The last, Levy published in 1797, not in London, but in New York, where it was printed "By William A. Davis for Naphtali Judah bookseller." (See Singer's "Early Translations of the Jewish Liturgy in England," Transactions Jewish Historical Society, III, 59.)

Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid (1778–1859), bullion broker and contractor of loans to Portugal, Brazil and Turkey. He founded University College, London, and the adjoining Hospital in 1825. It was his friend Mr. Robert Grant, who introduced the Jewish Disabilities Bill in 1830. Sir Isaac was one of the promoters of the Jewish Reform Movement of 1840, which led to a secession from the orthodox synagogues at Bevis Marks and Dukes Place. His son, Sir Francis (1808–1878), was the first Jew called to the Bar (in 1833) and was elected M. P. for Reading in 1860. His eldest sister, Miss Anna Maria Goldsmid, was educated by the poet Campbell, whose manuscript poems she bequeathed to the British Museum. She translated *Deicides* from the French and Philippsohn's Reform sermons from the German. Another sister married Nathaniel Montefiore. Their son Claude Goldsmid Montefiore is a leading theologian and founder of the ultra-radical "Liberal Synagogue." Sir Julian Goldsmid (1838–1896), third Baronet, was thirty years Member of Parliament, Chairman of Committee and Deputy-Speaker. As President of the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Russo-Jewish Committee, he also did loyal service for his co-religionists.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SEAMY SIDE

In the eighteenth century the Portuguese Jews extended their commercial activities and became veritable merchant princes. The wealth of some of them became increasingly great; Gideons, Bernals, Lopez, Samudas, prospered exceedingly and became increasingly welcomed and flattered by their non-Jewish neighbors, with the inevitable result that a tendency to assimilation became more pronounced. Cases of mixed marriage and apostasy from Judaism occurred with ominous frequency. Meanwhile, the Ashkenazic community was increasing from its humble beginnings. A few merchants settled in London from Hamburg, Breslau and Amsterdam such as the Goldsmids, Levis, Harts, Adolphus and Cohens. But for the most part they were Dutch and occasionally Polish pedlars, hawkers, dealers in old clothes and beggars. They were vagrants, and felt themselves outcasts, and it is not surprising that some of them joined the criminal classes. In those days crimes against property were capital offences and, although the Jew has always been singularly free from crimes of violence, the poverty, cunning and bravado of some of the least reputable among them led them to risk capital punishment for the sake of gain.

The chronicles of Newgate record a few such cases and the newspapers of the day tell of others. A Jewish offender could expect little mercy if tried and convicted. In 1740 we are told how a Jew was hanged in chains near Stamford Hill Turnpike and, in the night, the gibbet was cut down and his body taken away. In 1749 we have the "Case of Bosavern Penlez, who suffered on account of the late Riot in the Strand", published by the famous novelist Henry Fielding, and another, next year, by "a gentleman not concern'd".

In 1752, one Henry Simons, a Polish Jew, was tried and convicted at Chelmsford for perjury; but at subsequent assizes he was tried a second time and acquitted. Thereupon the prosecutor, James Ashley of Bread Street, London, Brandy Merchant, was tried for malicious prosecution and sentenced to pay £200 and costs. The affair produced a great sensation at the time, and pamphlets, *The Case of Henry Simons* and *The Case and Appeal of James Ashley*, were published in 1753 on the subject, No doubt, the Naturalization Bill of that year secured a ready public for such pamphlets.

In 1771 there seems to have been a recrudescence of crime, in which Jews were implicated, and which caused the greatest anxiety to the communal leaders and filled the London community with great alarm for their good name.

The following advertisement was accordingly inserted in the newspapers:–

"To the public

"It is with the deepest concern, and the strongest Indignation, we have lately observed the many daring and most atrocious Crimes committed by a Sett of Foreign Miscreants, who stain our Religion by calling themselves Jews. Anxious to put a Stop to this growing Evil by every method in our Power, we think it our Duty to give every Assistance to the Civil Magistrates (as we have already) in order to bring these, and every other Delinquent, to a just and condign Punishment; for which Reason we most solemnly exhort and entreat every honest Member of our Community to aid and uplift us in this pious Cause, in which the Lives and Properties of his Majesty's Subjects are deeply concerned; and in order, if possible to strike Terror in the wicked Hearts of these abandoned Offenders, we hereby declare our determined Resolution to grant them no Burials, or any other Religious Indulgence whatsoever after conviction, that they may be forever excommunicated from our Community, as well as to deter every Jew from receiving stolen Goods or concealing such, or harbouring any Persons guilty of any Theft; And to the utmost of our power to extirpate such vile Miscreants for ever from our Congregation, for the Glory of God and the Peace and Safety of Society in General. Published by Order of a General Vestry, this 14th of November 1771."

The Synagogue authorities and, especially, Mr. Myers, the Warden of the New Synagogue, seem to have done their best to discover the criminals and bring them to justice. They learned of "some deep laid schemes of villany formed by a gang of Jews in Holland, who were shortly to embark for this Island." They were put on the track through one of the gang applying to them for relief and saying, "if you mean to give me assistance you must do it quickly, for I must speedily leave this Island."

The offenders were brought to justice and the newspaper records that the "Jewish Synagogue has much credit with the Public for its activity in apprehending the miscreants lately executed, as well as those in custody. The utmost vigilance, even that of the excellent Magistrate, Sir John Fielding, was displayed in the pursuit, and the Synagogue itself expended a very large sum to promote the ends of Public justice."

The following extract from a newspaper of the day is given in full. It shows the sort of villains who were concerned in the affair and gives a gloomy picture of the times:–

"PARTICULARS
OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE DESPERATE GANG OF JEWISH HOUSEBREAKERS, BEFORE SIR JOHN FIELDING, KNT., AT HIS OFFICE, IN BOW STREET

"On Friday morning, the six Jew snow in custody for several very capital burglaries and a murder were examined at this Office. The robbery and housebreaking at Mrs. Deighton's at Wormley, in Hertfordshire, was the first matter exhibited in charge against them, when Isaacs, the Jew, who has been the happy instrument of discovering this infernal gang, and is admitted King's evidence, swore that they persuaded him to go out of town with them on Saturday, the

16th of February, and after they had got some little distance from London they severally kneeled down and took a solemn covenant never to betray each other or mention any matter that might hurt any one of their body. Asher Weil, whom they styled their Captain, holding a pistol over their heads at the time. They then proceeded to Wormley, where they forced the door, tied the maid and man servant in their beds, both feet together, and at their wrists, while they robbed the house of a quantity of plate, jewels, and some money and broad pieces. The lad and maid both ratified the evidence given by Isaacs, informed the Bench that the Jews had small wax candles with them, and each swore to the identity of some of the prisoners, whose faces they well recollected. Lazarus Zelic was then examined and proved the buying of the plate and two rings of Levy Weil, who has practised some time as a Physician.

"The next charge was that of the robbery and murder at Mrs. Hutchins's at Chelsea. Mrs. Hutchins deposed that a little after eleven at night they broke into her house, threw her upper petticoat over her head, and rummaged her drawers, and that she went up stairs with two of them (whose persons she swore to) and gave them what cash she had; that she heard two pistols go off, and that after the rogues were gone one of her men (Joseph Stone) came down stairs to her, asked her how she did, and told her he was a dead man, for they had mortally wounded him. The cook swore that hearing the dog bark and a noise in the yard, she opened the outer door, when they rushed in upon her, tore off her cap, and otherwise greatly ill-treated her, and then went and robbed her mistress and the house. A man servant of Mrs. Hutchins deposed that he heard a noise in the house soon after eleven, that presently two men, whom he remembered to be Levi Weil and Hyam Lazarus, rushed into the room where he and Joseph Stone lay, d------'d their bloods, and swore that they would blow their brains out if they did not lay quiet; on the first noise of their entering the room, his fellow servant jumped out of bed, when the Doctor instantly shot him, and the deponent in his fright jumped out of window and got on the roof of the house, from whence he saw one of the gang standing to guard the door, and the others presently came out, saying it was high time for them to be gone. Lazarus Zelic proved that the Doctor and his brother, Asher Weil, both told him of the robbery and murder at Chelsea, in a day or two after it was committed.

"The last burglary charged against them was that of Mr. Shepherd's house, at Woodford, when the relative facts were clearly ascertained; one of the maids swore to Asher Weil, who lay over her while his brethren in iniquity rummaged the house, and the footman swore that four of them came up to him, d----'d him, struggled with him for some time, and cut him over the head, till at length they mastered him, and fastened him under the blanket, while they committed the robbery. Lazarus Zelic here also proved the buying of some silver spoons of Asher Weil a day or two afterwards, who told him that they had failed in the Woodford matter, as they could not open the iron chest.

"The constables who took them produced as occasion required many of the things stolen in the three robberies, which were traced to have been bought of the prisoners, and were sworn to by their right owners; among other things there was a most remarkable silver pepper-box, a watch, and a two guinea piece, stolen at Wormley, and a straw-colored silk gown, the property of Mrs. Hutchins; at length after a very candid, impartial examination, the evidence were bound over to prosecute, when the prisoners were taken from the Bar, and Levi Weil, Asher Weil, Solomon Porter, and Hyam Lazarus, were committed to Newgate, to take their trials for the robbery and murder at the Old Bailey, and the two others were remanded to Tothill-fields Bridewell.

"Sir John Fielding behaved with peculiar humanity, candor, and propriety throughout the whole examination; he took great pains to explain to Isaacs the nature of that situation, which his being admitted King's evidence placed him in, and warned him, in the most solemn manner, to beware of urging false and groundless charges. He told the prisoners that if they had any thing to say in their defence, they should be heard, but advised them to reserve it for their trial, as it could do them no service on the present occasion, the evidence given on the examination being sufficient to warrant a commitment. They all took his advice, but Solomon Porter, who began abusing Isaacs the evidence; when Sir John told him to stop, for it could do him no service to abuse his brother Jew, he replied emphatically: 'He a Jew! he's no Jew, he is more Christian as Jews', which set the Office in a roar for some minutes.

"As Isaacs could not speak English in a manner sufficiently expressive, Mr. Myers, warden of the Synagogue, interpreted to the Bench what Isaacs spoke in German."

Ackermann's *Microcosm of London* appeared in 1808 with illustrations in aquatint by Pugin, the architect of the Houses of Parliament, and by Rowlandson the famous caricaturist. It contains a fine picture of the Great Synagogue, with an accompanying sketch of Anglo-Jewry. This claims the Jews' Naturalization Bill of 1753 "to the honor of Great Britain... as the first step which had ever been taken towards... admitting (Jews) to a participation of the civil rights of those countries with whom they are domesticated." Though repealed in the following year, through "the public clamor against this enlightened measure . . . ," says Ackermann, "the general influence of the British constitution, has, since that time, ameliorated their situation beyond all precedent; and the large capitals which they employ in commerce, enable them to procure and enjoy a very large proportion of the advantages, which would have been legally secured to them if the act for their naturalization had continued to be a part of our statute law. The Rev. Solomon Herschell, their high priest, has acknowledged that 'Britannia now cherishes and protects the Jews as her own children.' "

A similar work, of about the same date, is Smith's *Ancient Topography of London* (1810). It describes

Duke's Place in the following terms, interesting if not altogether accurate:–

"The square called Duke's Place is inhabited by the Jews, with only one exception, and that is the sign of the Fishmonger's Arms Publichouse on the West side. The Jews formerly were a people much and often persecuted in England; in the reign of Edward I fifteen thousand of them were totally deprived of their property, and banished from the kingdom. It appears in Tovey's Anglia Judaica, p. 259, and Granger, Vol. iii, p. 158, that Manasseh ben Israel, a learned Rabbi and Republican, who resided in the Low Countries (of whom there is an etching by Rembrandt, dated 1636) was an agent in their behalf with the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, for their settlement in England; for which it is said, through the interest of Hugh Peters and Harry Marten, he was offered 200,000 L. on condition that St. Paul's Cathedral should have been their Synagogue. It appears that part of the money was received, and the Jews allowed to settle in Duke's Place in 1650. Their first built synagogue after their return was that in Bevis Marks, 1703, belonging to the Portuguese Jews; and the next was that in Duke's Place, 1772, a magnificent building belonging to the Dutch Jews. They have four other places of worship in London, viz. Church Row, Fenchurch Street, built in 1724; Bricklayers Hall, Leadenhall Street, fitted up in 1760; Back Alley, Denmark Court, Strand, fitted up in 1765; and one in Brewer Street of about two years standing."

In 1801 Patrick Colquhoun, one of the City Magistrates, wrote a book on the Police of the Metropolis, in which he made some unfavorable strictures upon the condition of the "Dutch Jews," as the Ashkenazim of London were generally described.

He said that the mode of the Jews' education is a national injury, as it prompts and promotes idleness, profligacy and dissipation among the lower classes. He adverted to the fifteen hundred Londoners concerned in illegal traffic such as smashing, "a polite term for uttering bad money," and suggested, as did their enemies in pre-expulsion times, when they were charged with coin clipping, that Jews were much too addicted thereto. "From the orange boy or dealer in sealing wax, to the gold and diamond merchant, they all follow bad principles of conduct."

Joshua Van Oven, in his *Letters on the Present State of the JewishPoor in London,* contraverts Colquhoun, though he admits more than is pleasant.

Levy Alexander, in a pamphlet printed for and by the author in 1802, answers Van Oven, complains of his being fined in the previous year by the Vestry of the Great Synagogue of London and appends a Bill to be brought into Parliament for the better providing for the poor of the German Jews in the "Metropolis of the Bills of Mortality, including St. Pancras and Mary-le-Bone."

The object of the proposed Bill was to constitute a Board of 30 members, 2 wardens, called *Parnasim,* and eight members from each of the three synagogues, to be elected by each such synagogue for the purpose of establishing an asylum for aged and infirm persons, an hospital for the sick, maimed, and diseased; a school for the education of children, and for the instruction of the mechanical and other useful arts; a workhouse; an institution for vagrant poor and such as are able but not willing to work for their living.

The Bill was not proceeded with, but it shows the needs of the time and eventuated ultimately in the foundation of the Jewish Board of Guardians.

CHAPTER XXII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHIEF RABBI HIRSCHEL

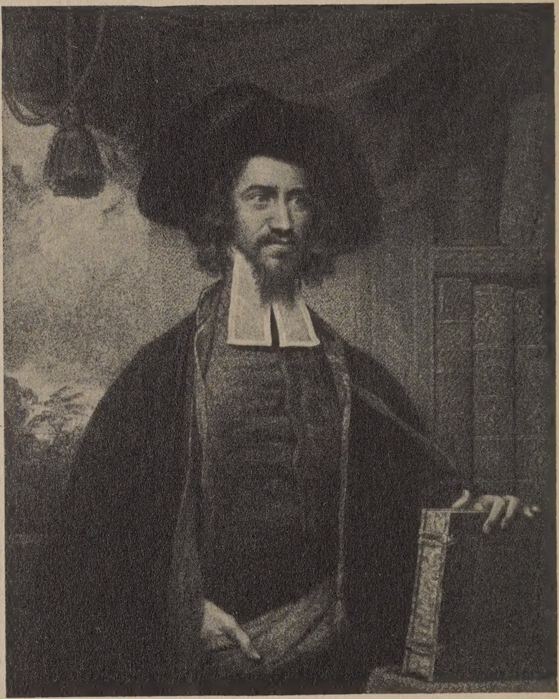
IT IS difficult to realize how great an effect the French Revolution and Napoleon's introduction of the Jew to civilized Europe had upon the leaders of thought. The Jew became fashionable, even in Berlin. It was the age of Salons, and Carlyle describes that of the brilliant Jewess, Rahel wife of Varnhagen von Ense. In London the Jew had become, if not exactly fashionable, at least interesting. And we shall see later on how this tendency was mirrored in the literature of the time. The story of the Community widens beyond the scope of its rabbis and Chief Rabbis, and the annals of its members are no longer parochial. Though consistently opposed to assimilation, the ecclesiastical leaders of London Jewry, by their lofty character, earned the respect of their gentile neighbors, and the esteem in which they were publicly held tended to raise the reputation of their congregation in general, and of its leading members in particular. Within their own flock, Schiff's and Hirschel's benign influence brought about an ever closer union among the Ashkenazim.

The increasing repute of the Great Synagogue is exemplified by a visit paid to it by three sons of George III, the Dukes of Cumberland, Cambridge and Sussex in 1809. They stayed over the Friday night with Mr. Abraham Goldsmid, at his house in Finsbury Square. The occasion is marked by an amusing caricature.

After Schiff's death in 1792, his place was left unoccupied for some years. Candidates were invited in 1794, but, owing, no doubt, to the financial depression induced by the Napoleonic Wars, the Rabbi of the New Synagogue, Moses Myers, acted as Chief Rabbi of all three Synagogues. A Polish synagogue was built in Cutler Street, Houndsditch, in 1795, for immigrants from Eastern Europe, who kept themselves rather aloof from the earlier settlers in the City and West End. Baron de Symons of Bedford Row, whose *Minyan*, as we have seen, was the origin of the Western Synagogue, established, in 1792, the *Shehitah* Board to deal with the supply of duly slaughtered meat to the Jews of London. This was the first instance in which the three synagogues co-operated for communal purposes.

Two years later the three synagogues made an arrangement for sharing the burden of the relief of the Jewish poor and for the supply of *mazzot* on Passover.

In 1802 Solomon Hirschel (otherwise Hirschell or Herschell) was appointed Chief Rabbi. He was an Englishman by birth, for he had been born in 1761, when his father Hart Lyon, otherwise Hirschel Levin, Mendelssohn's friend, was incumbent of the same office. But he had accompanied his father to Germany while still a baby and, after his return to London, never attained a complete mastery of the English tongue. Nevertheless he was a great power for good and his dignity and tact appreciably raised the



Chief Rabbi Hirschel

status of his Community. The portrait here given is from an engraving made by the father of the celebrated Frank Holl, R.A.

Hirschel and Nathan Meyer de Rothschild, the first of the English Rothschilds, were very desirous that the three synagogues, all of whom then recognized Hirschel as their Chief Rabbi, should become more closely united. A conference of their representatives was called in 1804, under Hirschel's chairmanship, with a view to their amalgamation. The conference lasted for over four years and most of the meetings were held at Rothschild's residence in New Court, St. Swithin's Lane, E.C. Though the conference did not result in a complete union, a working agreement between the synagogues was arrived at, under which differences between the three synagogues were to be settled by arbitration and they pooled sundry income and expenditure in connection with Burial, *Shehitah*, and Charities.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the duties devolving upon the Chief Rabbi were onerous and variegated. As chief of the *Bet Din* (the Jewish Ecclesiastical Court) he had to decide, either alone or in that Court, all religious points that might be submitted to him by a synagogue, its ministers or a private individual. He had to settle all questions of ritual and compose prayers and draw up forms of services for special occasions, such as days appointed for National Thanksgiving or Humiliation or the Dedication of a synagogue or a communal institution. He was principal and chief teacher of the *Yeshibah* (talmudic and rabbinic college), he had to authorize the appointment of synagogue officials, *Shohetim*, *Mohelim* and *Shomerim*. Matters relating to Jewish marriage and divorce were subject to his jurisdiction, and, in addition, he was a sort of Consul General for Jews all over the world. Occasionally he was consulted by foreign governments, such as the Austrian and Russian, as to the appointment of rabbis under their jurisdiction. But he was in no sense a Pope and nothing is so easy as for outsiders to exaggerate the Chief Rabbi's authority. Jewish laymen have always been extremely jealous of the clerical element, for they boast that all Israel is a Kingdom of Priests.

This was strikingly shown by the revolt against Hirschel's authority, which led to the establishment, in 1840, of the Reform Synagogue. The battle began in the Portuguese Community. In 1836 a petition was presented to the Elders and *Mahamad* asking for the introduction of an organ into the worship of the Synagogue and the abolition of the second days of the Festivals. Some of the German Jews and especially the Goldsmids, influenced by the German Reformers such as Philippsohn, Salomon and Geiger, joined the movement. Ultimately eighteen Sefardic and six German Jews seceded from their respective communities and opened a synagogue of their own under the spiritual leadership of Professor Marks. In consequence, Chief Rabbi Hirschel and his *Bet Din* put the recalcitrants in *Herem*, i.e. excommunicated them.

Dr. Hirschel had previously (in 1818) been attacked by a Russian scholar, one Solomon Bennett (originally Yomtov Baneth) of Plotzk, who had left his home in 1792, in consequence of the Polish revolution of that year. He proceeded, via Riga, to Copenhagen, which he left in consequence of the general poverty induced by the great conflagration of 1795. He then went to Berlin, where he claims to have been favored by the King of Prussia, but, being desirous of further progress, he says, "Paris and London were then my view. France being in the most convulsive state, I chose that of England, and London was my third station. I arrived in that metropolis at the end of 1799... but alas, I was greatly deceived in my conjectures respecting my own nation... Their doors became barred against me, with the answers, 'Master is not at home' . . . 'Master cannot speak to you.' Adding to which, it is a theme with their religious sentiments, if a Jew be not orthodox in the extreme, they proclaim him to be an infidel... As orthodoxy was not a favorite theme with me, particularly as a foreigner and a single man, who cannot abide by all the strictness of ceremonial laws, I was then declared a heretic." Hirschel profoundly mistrusted him, which was not surprising, and Bennett retorted by a scurrilous pamphlet, from which the preceding autobiographical details have been quoted because of the light they throw on contemporary conditions. The title of the pamphlet is, *The Present Reign of the Synagogue of Duke's Place Displayed in a Series of Critical Theological and Rabbinical Discussions on a Hebrew Pamphlet, etc.* In 1809 Bennett published *The Consistency of Israel* and in 1824 *The Temple of Ezekiel.* He was also a sculptor and may be said to have lived by pen and chisel.

Much of Hirschel's correspondence is preserved in a manuscript[143] described by Dr. Duschinsky.[144] Hirschel had so large a correspondence with Poland, that in 1827 he asked for and obtained a concession from the Postmaster General, dispensing him from being surcharged with postage in respect of letters from that country insufficiently franked. His petition refers to "severe Russian Decrees against our devoted nation"—the first reference to Russian Jew baiting, a subject with which the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have grown so familiar. He had met the Duke of Sussex and apologizes for "having withdrawn from Mr. Goldsmid without offering my humble duty to Your Royal Highness." With Sir Moses Montefiore and Cremieux he protested against the Blood Accusation of Damascus in 1840. On the 31st of October, 1842, he died at the age of 81, and nearly three years elapsed before his successor was appointed.

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[143] MS. Adler, 4160.

[144] The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue of London from 1756 to 1842 (reprinted from the Jewish Quarterly Review, N.S., vol. X).

CHAPTER XXIII

JEWISH EMANCIPATION

THE ADLERS

THE struggle for Jewish emancipation in England lasted for a generation. It centered in the House of Commons, and all Londoners were keenly interested and agitated. Macaulay took a leading part in the movement. His maiden speech in Parliament, delivered in 1830, was in favor of Grant's Bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities. "On every principle of moral obligation," he said, "the Jew has a right to political power." His famous essay on the *Civil Disabilities of the Jews* appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* of January 1831. It is worthy of note that, in this essay, he argues against the idea that the Jewish nationalism unfits the Jews for complete civil rights outside Palestine. An extant caricature shows the Jewish pedlar knocking at the portal of the House of Commons and throws a vivid side light on the prejudice of the time.

Although the Bill did not pass, the debates proved of much benefit to the London Jews. They familiarized the public with the idea of seeing them in places of official trust. In 1835 David Salomons was unanimously elected one of the two sheriffs of London, but, as a Jew, he could not take the oath of office. Lord Melbourne's Government, however, submitted a Bill to Parliament to relieve persons in the situation of Mr. Salomons from the penalties, to which they would otherwise have been liable, for occupying the office without having taken the oath. This Bill passed both Houses and even the Bishops did not oppose it. Salomons, despite the sneers of his opponents "for wanting to stand amongst the first of our Noble and Merchant Princes," passed honorably through his year of office. In 1837 he married Miss Samuel, the niece of the Baroness Rothschild, and was subsequently made a baronet. Moses Montefiore was elected Sheriff, in immediate succession to Salomons, and had the honor of receiving Queen Victoria on her visit to the City in the first year of her reign. Since then the City Corporation has been frequently presided over by Jewish Lord Mayors, Sir Benjamin Phillips, Sir Henry Isaacs (whose nephew Rufus Isaacs afterwards became Viceroy of India), and Sir Marcus Samuel, created first Viscount Bearsted, the founder of the Shell Transport and Trading Co. Ld. Numerous Jewish Sheriffs and Aldermen have also held office in London.

In 1847 an article appeared in the *Quarterly Review* against the Jewish claim to emancipation. And it was not till July 26th, 1858, that Jewish Emancipation in England was finally accomplished. On that day Baron Lionel de Rothschild took his seat in due form in the House of Commons as M.P. for the City of London. Twenty-eight years later, his eldest son, Nathan, or Nathaniel as he was generally called, was raised to the peerage and took his seat in the House of Lords as the first Lord Rothschild.

Nathan Marcus Adler (1802–1890), a great-nephew of David Schiff, was appointed Chief Rabbi in 1845. He had succeeded his father as Grand Rabbi of the Kingdom of Hanover in 1830, when William the Fourth's brother, the first Duke of Cambridge, was Viceroy. The Duke's influence with the Rothschilds undoubtedly helped Dr. Adler to his overwhelming majority over the three candidates, one of whom was the famous Samson Raphael Hirsch of Frankfort. Adler's chief literary work was "Netinah la-Ger", a Commentary on the Targum to the Pentateuch. For all but half a century (1845–1890) he officiated as chief of the British rabbis and lived to witness, under his leadership, the phenomenal growth of his community in political, social and ethical importance. It was his life work to smooth the way, to heal internal dissensions and remove his community's external disabilities. The first great difficulty with which he had to contend, was the split in the Community which had, in the last years of his predecessor, culminated in the secession from the two orthodox congregations of some prominent London Jews, such as Isaac Goldsmid, and his sons and brothers, Benjamin Elkin and Lawrence Phillips. These had erected the Reform Synagogue in Burton Street W. Before his installation, Adler had been informed that the Community "rely very much on your wisdom and high learning that you will treat this inquiry in a calm, dispassionate and learned manner." He was, throughout, a representative "hard shell" orthodox *Rav* of the good old school. In 1841 he had nailed his colors to the mast, when he signed the petition against the Reform programme promulgated at the Brunswick Conference of Rabbis. Despite the acrimony of the contest in London, instead of widening the breach, Adler bridged it. For some time he strove for a formal reconciliation. That he failed to accomplish, but himself he endeared to both parties and it is generally admitted that to his wise influence is due the conservatism of London Jewry. The portrait here reproduced is from a zincograph published in 1845. In the margins it gives his biography up to that date.

It was during his rabbinate that the complete political emancipation of the English Jews was effected. It was his part to canvass the Bishops prior to the passing of the Bill by the House of Lords. And he used to tell, with a humorous twinkle in his eye, how one of the Lords Spiritual hesitated to receive him, on the ground that an interview was useless, as he knew no Hebrew! He declined an invitation from Thackeray, because he preferred not to figure in a novel. He had been a fellow student of the Prince Consort at the University of Goettingen, and collaborated with him in the Great Exhibition, and in the preliminary work which resulted in the passing of the Education Act.[145] In his own community he founded "Jews' College", in 1855, for the training of Jewish ministers and teachers.

Dr. Hermann Adler (1839–1911), his son and successor, who had been his Delegate Chief Rabbi from 1879 to 1890, was much more in the public eye, and

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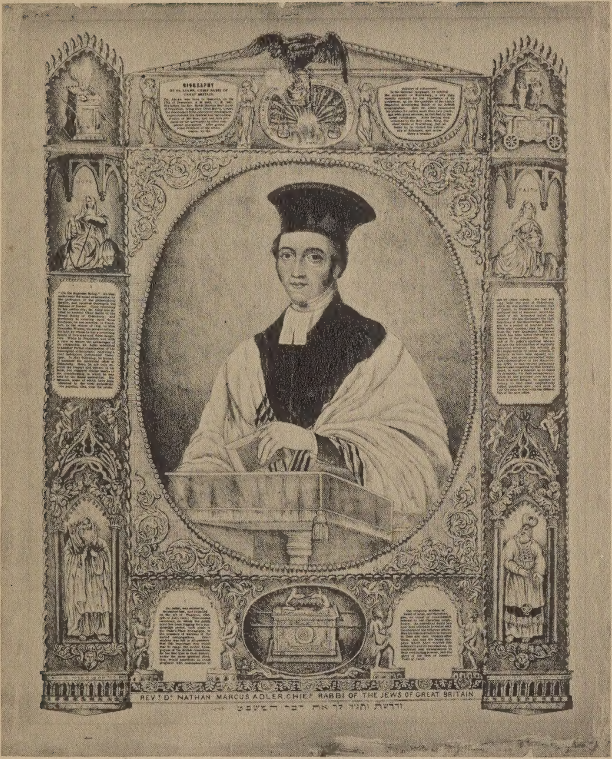
[145] See the "Reply of the Rev. Dr. Adler to the Education Questions," published as a Blue Book in 1859.


BIOGRAPHY
REV.d Dr. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER CHIEF RABBI OF THE JEWS OF GREAT BRITAIN
ודרשת והגידו לך את דבר המשפט

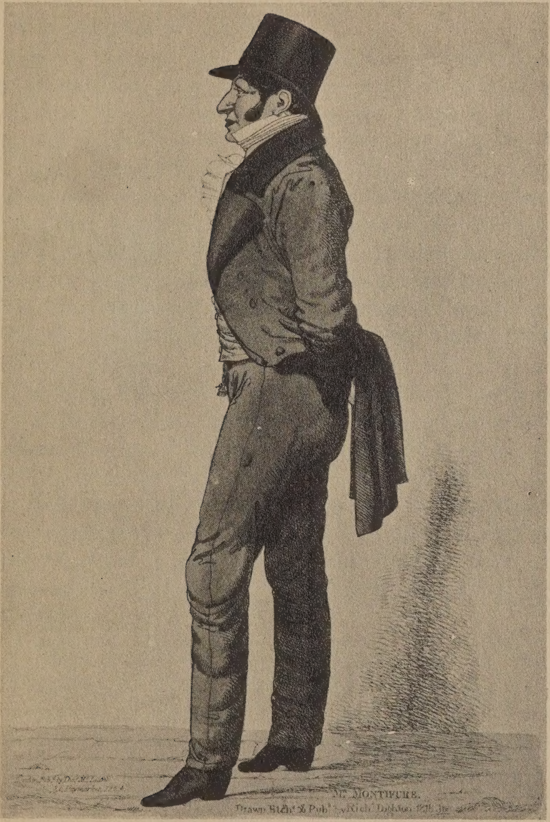
Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler

was on terms of some intimacy with King Edward. Indefatigable in his communal activities, Hermann Adler established the practice that no public function should lack the eloquent support of the Chief Rabbi. He thus secured for his office equality with that of Primate and Cardinal Archbishop. He died in 1911, and the present incumbent, Chief Rabbi Dr. Joseph Herman Hertz, succeeded him two years later.

CHAPTER XXIV

MONTEFIORE AND THE ROTHSCHILDS

Moses Montefiore (1784—1885), though born in Leghorn during a business visit of his English parents to that city, was the finest type of the London Jew of the 18th and 19th centuries. Educated at Kennington, where they lived and where he was apprenticed to a grocer, he soon gravitated to the City and became one of the twelve licensed Jewish brokers. At first he was not successful in business, in fact, in 1806 he suspended payment, though he soon paid off his creditors with interest. In 1812 he married Judith, daughter of Levi Barent Cohen and sister of Mrs. Nathan Meyer Rothschild, whose husband was the founder of the great English firm, first in Manchester and then in London. In 1821, Montefiore was rich enough to retire from the Stock Exchange and, thereafter, he devoted himself to philanthropy, though he continued to take an interest in the Bank of Ireland and in the Alliance Assurance Company, of which he was a founder and over which he presided for more than half a century. In 1864 Queen Victoria conferred a baronetcy upon him. He was the head of the London Sefardic community and seven times presiding warden. Seven times he visited Palestine, first in 1827 and a second time in 1838, when he went there in order to submit to Mehemet


Mr. MONTIFURE.
Drawn Etch'd & Pub'd by Richd Dighton

Moses Montefiore

Ali a scheme for Jewish colonization in Syria. He died, a centenarian, in 1885.

The brothers-in-law, Nathan Rothschild and Moses Montefiore, lived for several years in adjoining houses at New Court, St. Swithins Lane, E. C. But, as the Rothschild firm grew in magnitude, it gradually monopolized the whole of New Court, which was rebuilt as a big bank building, where the business of the firm is transacted to this very day. Montefiore and Rothschild gave up their residences in the City and were the first of the fashionable Jews to go West, the one to 148 Piccadilly, the first or last house in London, and the other to Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane.

The Napoleonic Wars had established the fortunes of the Rothschilds and made them the financiers of modern Europe. Their power and influence increased rapidly, but, to their credit be it said, they from the first exercised their influence for the benefit of their oppressed co-religionists. Perhaps the earliest reference to this side of their activities is contained in the following contemporary newspaper paragraph of 1819:

> "Mr. Rosschild, the Jew Banker in London, indignant at the persecution of his Jewish brethren in several cities in Germany, has, it is said in the foreign journals, refused to take bills upon any of the German cities in which the Jews have experienced ill-treatment."

The social life of the Rothschilds assumed a character of magnificence, depicted, perhaps with oriental exaggeration, in Disraeli's earlier novels. Glimpses of their manner of living emerge from the Diaries of Judith Montefiore. Thus, in 1827, she describes the "affectionate attentions received on the eve of our departure (for Palestine). For several successive days we have been entertained by the most elegant farewell treats. That of last evening was given by my sister, Hannah de Rothschild, and vied with all the rest in sumptuous hospitality. The best musical performers, lately arrived from the Continent, delighted us throughout the evening with many brilliant performances. With the exception of these strangers, the party consisted wholly of relations, and we separated with mutual hopes that each and all of us, on our return, might be found in possession of the numerous blessings we now enjoyed. I started from Park Lane at a quarter to 8, in our comfortable travelling carriage, attended by Armstrong, a servant newly engaged for the excursion. Montefiore preceded me about two hours, in order to attend Synagogue. I called for him at the place of devotion, having first looked in at Piccadilly."

Such wealthy Jews, however, were the exception. Most of the Community were poor and lived close to their synagogues. Byron, for all his eccentricities, or perhaps because of them, numbered several Jews among his friends, particularly I. Nathan. This man wrote, in 1829, a little book called *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron*, and describes himself on the title page as "The Author of the Hebrew Melodies which are some of the most glowing of Byron's Lyrics." In Don Juan, Byron sings the Jew Rothschild and his fellow Christian Baring. It is curious that Abbott, in his *Israel in Europe*, ignores Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*, but dwells upon his *Age of Bronze*, which appeared in 1823 and which, he says, carried on "The Merchant of Venice" tradition. The unfriendliness displayed in that poem is due not to the dislike of the individual Jew, but to Byron's objection to the national loan-mongering of the Rothachilds:

"Was ever Christian Land so rich in Jews?
They parted with their teeth to give King John
And now ye kings they kindly draw your own.

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"And Philanthropic Israel deigns to drain
Her mild percentage from exalted Spain
Not without Abraham's seed could Russia march
'Tis gold, not steel, that rears the
conqueror's arch.

……………………

"Two Jews a chosen people can command
In every realm their scripture promised land."

……………………

Throughout the nineteenth century the Rothschilds were the leading Jews of London. Socially and politically they were pre-eminent; in the City they were unrivalled. After the Baring crisis, their house stood alone, unmoved and unshaken. But their business activities are no longer as striking as in former years. Their wealth has become distributed among a large number of branches and does not compare with the gigantic fortunes produced by steel and oil and diamonds. Wealth, indeed, though "rich as a Rothschild" is a proverb in many tongues, was less the secret of their influence than their tact and knowledge of continental affairs. Disraeli owed perhaps as much to them as they did to him. In every foreign crisis their help was asked and ungrudgingly given in the interests of peace. In 1815 the Rothschilds reorganized the finances of the Holy Alliance; in 1848 they were the trusted bankers of kings in exile. In 1875 they helped to make England master of the Suez Canal; in 1899 it was at Mr. Alfred de Rothschild's house in Seamore Place that conversations or negotiations took place with a view to an Anglo–German Alliance which would have prevented the World War.[146] In August 1914, it was the late Lord Rothschild's advice to Mr. Asquith and his Government which prevented a financial panic. Important, however, as the Rothschilds were to the general public, they were, in their own community, eager and actual heads, not figure heads. The Jews' Free School, the United Synagogue, the Four Per Cent Industrial Dwellings Company have all been, for generations, presided over by Rothschilds, and are typical instances of their educational, religious and economic activities. And if Anglo-Jewry owes much to the Rothschilds, they have always been the first to admit that their own strength was largely due to Anglo-Jewry.

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[146] Eckhardstein's "Lebenserinnerungen und politische Denkwürdigkeiten."

CHAPTER XXV

DISRAELI

THE greatest London Jew of the Nineteenth Century was unquestionably Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804–1881), novelist, student and statesman. A writer in *The Times* describes him as "one of the most original, curious, interesting and interested human beings who ever walked through the pageant of life."

His life has been portrayed in a monumental Biography commenced by Moneypenny and concluded by Buckle, sometime editor of the *Times*.

His father, Isaac d'Israeli (1766–1848), was the son of Benjamin d'Israeli of Venice, who settled in London in 1748. He was the author of *Curiosities of Literature* (1791), *Amenities of Literature*, *Calamities of Authors*, *Quarrels of Authors*, *The Genius of Judaism*, and some novels and poems of little importance. His literary vogue is illustrated by the fact that there are no less than eleven of his works enumerated in Rosenbach's valuable *American Jewish Bibliography*.[147] Several of his works were reprinted in America, such as his *Curiosities of Literature* in 1793, his *Narrative Poems* and *Romances* in 1803 and his *Miscellanies of Literature* in 1841. He withdrew from membership of the Bevis Marks congregation in 1871, after refusing to pay a fine of £40 for declining to act as Warden. His *Genius of Judaism*, published by him anonymously in 1833, is an enthusiastic panegyric of Israel's past, though it deplores Jewish exclusiveness. It concludes with the plea that "the common enjoyments of civil rights will neither endanger the genius of Judaism nor the genius of Christianity." The title page of a copy, with his autograph presentation to Benjamin Lindo, shows that he remained on friendly terms with prominent *Yehidim*. He allowed his friend Samuel Rogers, the banker poet, to have his eldest son Benjamin baptized. But he himself never formally abandoned Judaism and he was an interested and sympathetic attendant at the opening of the Reform Synagogue at Burton Street on the 27th of January, 1842. His wife was a Basevi, whose brother George (1794–1845) was the distinguished architect who designed the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge and made plans for the erection of the New Synagogue, Great St. Helens. Benjamin Disraeli the younger, the great Disraeli, never affected to be much of a Christian. His religion was, he said, contained in the blank page between the Old Testament and the New. But, in appearance as in manner, he was typically the aristocratic Sefardi. He was prouder of belonging to the Jewish race than of being Prime Minister of England for ten years. Carlyle called him "a superlative Hebrew conjurer, spell-binding all the great Lords, great parties, great interests of England." Disraeli's novels were rather political than literary and in the days of Gladstone, it was the fashion among Gladstonians to decry them as rather poor stuff. But their merit is now better recognized. They are remarkably picturesque and suggestive. Some are of peculiarly Jewish interest. In *Tancred* he records his own impressions of a three years' visit to the East (1825–1828) and makes his aristocratic hero a sort of antedated Herzl, who tries to realize the Messianic idea of and in Palestine. The *Wondrous Tale of Alroy* is the story of a pseudo-Messiah, a Prince of the Captivity, who rose and fell in Bagdad and Kurdistan about 1160, but it is a brilliant forecast of a Zionism idealized by mystic Messianism. The most impressive character in *Coningsby*[148] is the philosophic millionaire Sidonia, generally taken to be founded on a London Rothschild. Disraeli puts in his mouth his own views on Judaism: "The Jews are a race essentially monarchical, deeply religious and essentially Tories... In fact you cannot crush a pure race... Jews lead all the intellectual movements in Europe, monopolise professorial chairs and enter into political affairs." In his *Life of Lord George Bentinck* (1851) he devotes a chapter to the Jewish case for emancipation. His Jewish standpoint is again displayed in his General Preface to the Collected Editions of his Works published in 1870.

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[147] American Jewish Historical Society, vol. XXX.

At that time, says Buckle, the resuscitation of his peculiar doctrines about Christianity and Judaism and about religion and science, increased political distrust in him. This did not, however, prevent his triumphant return to power a couple of years later. And there can be no doubt that the very fact of his success in becoming the idol of Sovereign, Lords and Commons, notwithstanding his being in appearance, gesture and character so typical a Jew, tended to raise the position and esteem of the Anglo-Jewish Community in general. He was always an intimate friend of the Rothschilds, and one who was present has testified to his visible enjoyment of the Revd. A. L. Green's intonation of grace at the *Bar Mizvah* breakfast of Nathan, first Lord Rothschild. There are many allusions to them in correspondence, as set forth in his Life. Thus, in 1867, he writes to Lord Stanley with reference to foreign affairs, of which they generally kept him well informed, "I have heard nothing from the Rothschilds. I observe they never write and speak of these matters, except in a corner and a whisper."

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[148] Thackeray parodied this novel in *Codlingsby*, where the luxurious life of the Mendozas gives, in caricature, the contemporary idea of the boundless wealth of the Jew and the Jewish foible for claiming that "Everybody is a Jew . . . His Majesty is a Jew, so is the Pope of Rome, so is . . . a whisper concealed the rest."

He advises Lord Bradford to follow Baron Meyer's procedure in forming a famous stable. "I saw," he says, "the beginning of his plan at Mentmore, and people turned up their noses at his scheme and his sire for a while and yet eventually that gave him the Derby, the Oaks and the St. Leger in one year."

It was Baron Lionel who helped him, in 1875, to bring about his grand coup, the purchase of the Khedive's shares of the Suez Canal, by providing £4,000,000 to pay for them, when Parliament was not sitting and the affair could not wait. That was the origin of England's supremacy in Egypt. Baron Lionel, he says, was "one of my greatest friends and one of the ablest men I ever knew." Disraeli was a constant guest of the Rothschilds and often invited himself when he felt lonely. Thus he writes, "I dined at Sir Nathaniel Rothschild's on Wednesday, said to be the best dinner in London and always charming society." In 1876, "I sat next to Prince Hal (i. e. the Prince of Wales) at dinner yesterday at Ferdinand de R(othschild)'s".

When, in 1877, he was raised to the peerage, Mr. Buckle observes, "One, who was a Jewish aristocrat at heart, felt himself naturally at home in an assembly of aristocrats, where business was conducted with dignity and manners were urbane." It is perhaps not unnatural that all persons are not as liberal in their views as the late editor of the *Times*. Many there were who taunted Disraeli with being a Jew. One of the worst of these was Professor Goldwin Smith, perhaps the most prominent of the English anti-Semites of past years. Smith's article in *The Nineteenth Century*, "Can Jews be Patriots," was eloquently answered in the same Magazine by the late Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler. For Goldwin Smith's dislike of the Jews Disraeli was himself largely responsible. In his *Lothair* he introduces an Oxford professor about to emigrate to America and described as a social parasite. The Professor was odviously Goldwin Smith. Disraeli himself says that the famous novel's circulation was greatly helped "by the publication of an abusive letter from one who conceived himself to be the original professor, described in the book, as of advanced opinions on all subjects, 'religious, social and political', clever, extremely well informed but with a restless vanity and overflowing conceit". Goldwin Smith thought that the cap fitted, but Disraeli never answered him, though he explained to an American literary friend that Goldwin Smith had distinguished himself in *Morning Chronicle* by a series of invectives, "which far passed the bounds of legitimate political hostility."

CHAPTER XXVI

MODERN LONDON JEWS IN DRAMA

THE Drama is a good guide to contemporary facts and prejudices; and we have seen how the Jew was treated by the Elizabethan dramatists. The modern English Stage has London Jews as authors, actors, and characters. Richard Cumberland (1797–1811), whom Goldsmith called the Terence of England, wrote two plays about Jews, *The Jew* and *The Jew of Mogador*, as well as an Epic called *The Exodian* which describes the Exodus in eight dull books. Sheridan's Moses in the *School for Scandal* is almost the last classical instance of the Jew as an objectionable clown. Cumberland's Jew is no longer the crafty heartless Shylock of dramatic tradition, but a good-hearted philanthropist, benevolent though rich. *The Jew* was very popular. The famous Edmund Kean (1787–1833) was the first actor of Jewish blood to make his mark on the stage. As Arthur Bourchier in a bright article in the *Contemporary Review*[149] says: "With the departure of popular prejudice and of the desire to hold the race up to contempt or ridicule, the Jew, in nineteenth century drama, became, as a rule, a negligible quantity, represented, in melodrama, as a comic person or a virtuous pawnbroker's rascally assistant and very rarely figuring as the leading character of the play."

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[149] "Jew in Drama," March, 1915. Edmund Kean went to America in 1820, where he spent six years on the boards. His son Charles (1811–1868) was distinguished, not only as an actor, but also as a Shakespearian editor.

The Old Jews, written by Sydney Grundy and produced by John Hare in 1894, Bourchier regards as an exception. Julius Sterne is "wretched among his millions, very generous, almost a Don Quixote in his self-sacrifice, strong in his domestic affections, with a pride of race, a gift of suffering without complaining, and a consummate coolness and masterfulness in every crisis."

In *The Great Adventure* of Arnold Bennett, the picture dealer, like so many of his calling, is a Jew.

When Knights were Bold, a play, which has been performed over ten thousand times in London alone, is notable for its representation of London Jews of pre-expulsion times, parallelled by Jews of to-day. The rich heiress Sarah Isaacson, who is wooed for her millions by the British aristocrat, is a reincarnation of the daughter of Isaac the Jew, just as her lover is the parallel of his crusading ancestor.

Bernard Shaw is too fond of paradox to ignore the Jews. Thus in *The Doctor's Dilemma* we have "Loony" Schutzmacher, a physician, who has retired with a large fortune and throws physic to the dogs. The author in his picturesque stage directions says of him, "His combination of soft manners and responsive kindness with a certain unseizable reserve and a familiar yet foreign chiselling of feature, reveal the Jew, in this instance the handsome Jew, gone a little pigeon-breasted and stale after thirty, as handsome Jews often do, but still decidedly good-looking."

B. Macdonald Hastings' *Advertisement* had but a short run in 1915. This play did not take the public's fancy. It is the story of a Jewish violinist, who degenerates into a prosperous vendor of quack medicines, marries a Christian, and loses his only son at the front in the Great War. His wife admits to him that she has been faithless and that the son was not his, and then she leaves him. In a preposterous fourth act, which the author himself admits was only a sop to Cerberus, to indulge the British public's love for happy endings, she returns to him, as he is celebrating Tabernacles in his *Sukkah*, on the roof of his house, and he takes her back. This extraordinary scene gave Punch an opportunity to portray a *Sukkah* in its pages for the first time.

Non-Jewish dramatists are not particularly happy in their presentation of the Jew. Are Jewish dramatists much better? As a playwright, Zangwill is disappointing. It was said that he was too clever to live. His *War God* is an ambitious and prophetic description of the conflict between militarism and peace. It contains a *meshummad* called Karl Blum, who turns Christian because there is no room in Gothia for professing Jews.

The Melting Pot is a variation of the hackneyed theme of mixed marriages. It is a powerful but unpleasant picture of the conflict between the orthodox Russian immigrant and his enlightened American son, a theme far better handled by the Yiddish authors. There is much unnecessary dwelling on Jewish observances, introduced for purposes of local color, but savoring of irreverence. Zangwill was, perhaps, too much given to half truths. In his Jewish dramas, he claimed to speak for Israel. That was only half the truth. He really spoke for Israel Zangwill. A native of London, he was more successful when, in his novels, he portrays the *Children of the Ghetto*.

Superior to Zangwill's *The Melting Pot* as a work of art is *Potash and Perlmutter*, also with an American setting, written by two London Jews. It had a phenomenal success, made one laugh during the horrible war months, and has satisfied both Jew and Gentile how lovable even vulgar Jewish tailors can really be. The sequels to this play were not as popular on the London stage. *Welcome Stranger* has caught the public fancy and been acted over two hundred times, but its popularity is rather due to the brilliant acting of Harry Green than to its literary value.

There are over 500 Yiddish dramas, some of which have been acted in the East End of London in a Yiddish Theater, which caters for the foreign Jew. But in London the Yiddish drama is merely a feeble echo of its prosperous sister in New York.

CHAPTER XXVII

NOVELISTS AND THE JEWS

In 1829 Walter Scott was ill in bed, and his friend, Skene of Rubislau, suggested to him that a group of Jews would be interesting in a novel, and told him of German Jews he had known. This was the origin of *Ivanhoe,* from which we quoted a description of Jewish life in pre-expulsion times.[150] It was published in the following year. Scott was innocent of propagandism, but his treatment was sympathetic and evoked sympathy. Unlike Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* his Isaac is not a Barabbas or Shylock transformed, "but only reformed". He is a victim not a villain, and Scott finds excuses for the bad qualities of the Jew, while he sympathizes with his good ones.

Isaac's daughter Rebecca is the jewel of the story. She is said to have been suggested by what Washington Irving told Scott of Rebecca Gratz of Philadelphia, the gracious lady who founded the Orphan Asylum there, as well as a Hebrew Sunday School. She died in 1869, just under 90 years of age. It has been claimed that "Rebecca is superior to (Marlowe's) Abigail in beauty and to Jessica in virtue. She equals Portia in wisdom and is the perfect heroine of romance." Her name was suggested by her father's Isaac, and pre-expulsion Jewesses were so called. Other names in the novel, such as "Zareth" and "Kirjath Jairam", are "confused forms of Hebrew names taken from Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*".[151]

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[150] Above, p. 54.

The famous novel was in the same year (1820) dramatized as a "new grand chivalric play" and acted all over England with great success. Moreover, in 1850 it had the privilege of being caricatured by Thackeray in his *Rebecca and Rowena.* It was in a sense the founder of the "Palace" in Shaftesbury Avenue, which was originally intended, not as a music hall, but as the home of native English Opera. The first and perhaps only opera produced there was *Ivanhoe.* Alas, it was a failure! But the local color of *Ivanhoe* is worth studying, if we want to know how the English Jews lived during the Crusades.

George Eliot's[152] *Daniel Deronda*, published in 1876, is perhaps the most notable novel, which has appeared about the Jews and perhaps that written in the kindliest spirit. Like *Tancred*, but in much more practical guise, it foreshadows the National Idea in Jerusalem. The late Professor David Kaufmann claimed that George Eliot had in this novel proved that, when the dawn of a happier age began to break for Jews as for others, it illuminated a people numerically greater after eighteen hundred years of oppression and persecution than in the days of its highest power, and a race able to enrich every literature of the world from its treasures, and that the Jews were still a people, a sickly body indeed, but one to which youth and health might return. Her theme is that the Judaism of to-day is awakening to, and strengthening in, national self-consciousness. And it is to an English Christian authoress that the historian of culture must assign the glory of having grasped this idea most profoundly.

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[151] Times Literary Supplement of 1st January, 1920, p. 9.

[152] The pseudonym of Mary Ann Cross (1819–1880).

Kaufmann pointed out that it is in England preeminently that the Jews always had the courage to confess their nationality and that English literature is by no means poor in authors tolerant and well disposed towards the Jews. Shakespeare, he says, was far from drawing a mere caricature in his Shylock, and he quotes Scott's Rebecca, Dickens' Riah in *Our Mutual Friend*, Macaulay as the fighter for Jewish emancipation and Disraeli as the glowing enthusiast for his race. Mordecai is the prophet of the hope that "our race shall have an organic center, a heart and brain to watch and guide and execute, the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the Court of nations, like the outraged Englishman or American."

He explains that it is no accident that the book is called *Daniel Deronda* rather than *Gwendolen Harley* or *Ezra Mordecai Cohen*, although perhaps there is a certain stately inaccessibility about him, which makes him a little unreal. The original of Mordecai may perhaps have been Spinoza the philosopher, or perhaps only a Jew sketched by Mr. Lewes in the *Fortnightly Review* for April 1866. The Cohen family has some less admirable characteristics, but George Eliot's satire has nothing of bitterness and hatred. It springs, like all true humor, from love. A leader of the realistic school, the authoress shows her knowledge of the subjects she handles by the manner in which she has described the Jews—the Great Unknown of humanity.

Joseph Jacobs in his *Essays and Reviews* (London 1891) reprinted four *Athenaeum* Articles about "George Eliot". He does not altogether share Kaufmann's view, though he wrote what he calls "an enthusiastic—I fear I must add—gushing defence of Daniel Deronda from a Jewish point of view in the June 1877 number of *Macmillan's Magazine.*" He says that the attempt to arouse public interest in modern Judaism in *Daniel Deronda* was a complete failure, and he complains of what he calls "the scientific technicalities" in that book. A complete failure it was not, for it has been dramatized just fifty years after Jacobs wrote, and the play, if a bit melodramatic, has undoubtedly inspired much admiration for the novelist. And what is more important, its Zionistic idealism has singularly materialized after many years.

In Cross's *Life of George Eliot* appears a letter from her to Professor Kaufmann in which the authoress says that her only object in introducing Grandcourt and Gwendolen was to contrast Christian Society with Jewish family life, to the disadvantage of the former.

In her *Theophrastus Such*, the last essay is called *The Modern Hep Hep* and contains a defence of her choice of the Jews as a subject.

Grace Aguilar (1816–1847), born at Hackney and of Marrano descent, was a poetic writer, chiefly on the romance of history. Her *Vale of Cedars or The Martyr*: *A story of Spain in the Fifteenth Century*, is her most popular Jewish work. The sermons of Rabbi Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia deeply impressed her and she sought his advice in writing her *Spirit of Israel.* In *Women of Israel* she depicts with a sympathetic brush the heroines of the Bible and of Josephus, of whom she was proud to be a follower. Two of her nieces lived to a great age and survived her by more than half a century. They were gentle creatures, who taught Hebrew to several generations of London Jewesses and made them exult in their Jewishness.

Of Jewish novelists who described the London Jews of their day one must mention Amy Levy (1861–1889) for her *Reuben Sachs*, and Mrs. Frankau for *Dr. Phillips.* But far above these, and indeed pre-eminent among contemporary writers, is Israel Zangwill. His *Children of the Ghetto* is a masterly picture of successive generations of London Jews as they progress from poor Whitechapel to fashionable Bayswater. As a novel, it was instantly recognized as a masterpiece. None who desire to make the acquaintance of the London Jew as he lives and talks and thinks, can afford to neglect that work.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE HOMES AND MANNERS OF LONDON JEWS.

SINCE the return of the Jews to England, there has been no Jewry in London to which they were confined by law. There has been no ghetto or *Judengasse*. But in practice the London Jews have for the greater part affected the East End of the City. The signatories to the famous memorandum to Cromwell[153] lived in or round Duke's Place, except Manasseh ben Israel, who, as a fashionable visitor to London, writes from the Strand. In the list of original settlers in London already referred to, we find them all living in Duke's Place, Bishopsgate Street, Creechurch Lane, Bevis Marks, St Mary Axe, Fenchurch Street, St. Helen's, Aldgate or Leadenhall Street.[154]

In 1677 there were more than fifty Jewish names specified in the first London Directory, so that there must have been at least five hundred Jews then living in London. The first among these are Anth. Gomeserd of Berry St. (?Bury St., Houndsditch), "Sir Ba. de Gomez (?Sera) of Berry St., and Anto. Gounnesevares (?Gomez Suarez) of Creechurch Lane. One of these gentlemen is, almost certainly, the W. Gomes

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[153] State Papers Dom. Inter., CXXV, 58.

[154] This list was given by Dr. Chauncey to Emanuel Mendes da Costa. See Picciotto's "Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History," pp. 32–3.

Serra, Pocock's informant as to Manasseh ben Israel."[155] Synagogues were within a stone's throw from Aldgate, the eastern gate of the City. Accordingly, as Walter G. Bell points out, in his *Great Fire of London in 1666*, the Jews did not suffer much from it. "Long before the Fire, the Jews had drifted east from the neighbourhood to which, in mediaeval times, they had given the name that survives in Old Jewry and in the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry, and their residential quarter and the Synagogues in Leadenhall Street and St. Helen's were beyond the area reached by the flames." A Dutch writer, he says, mentions "a Jews' Synagogue in Coleman Street which escaped the Fire, but no record of this survives in the community." Of course not. The synagogue in question had been one in the days before 1290, but in 1666 it was a church. And, much restored, to this day it remains the only London example of pre-expulsion Jewish architecture.

In *A tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (By a Gentleman, London 1727), we are told that the "Jews have particularly fixt upon Highgate N. and Hampstead N.W. for their country retreat and some of them are very wealthy, they live there in good figure, and have several Trades particularly depending upon them and especially Butchers of their own to supply them with provisions kill'd in their own way: also, I am told, they have a private Synagogue here." Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a few of the richer ones, like Goldsmids and Montefiores and Cohens, lived in the City in Finsbury

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[155] See above, p. 93.

Square or Angel Court, with country houses, like Dr. Johnson's rich brewer friends the Thrales, in Streatham, S.W., or on Stamford Hill, N.E. In 1778 Moses Alexander, "a very rich Jew," dies at Hackney, "supposed to be worth £200,000." A glance at the merchants' addresses in the London Directory of 1792 shows Jews in Angel Court, Basinghall Street, Bevis Marks, Change Alley, Cornhill, Crutched Friars, Greek Street, Fenchurch Street, Fountain Court, Strand, Houndsditch, Leman Street, Lothbury, Minories, Old Broad Street, Prescott Street, St. Mary Axe, Shadwell, Spital Square, Size Lane and only one in Whitechapel High Street. The fashionable quarters were Devonshire Square and Mansell Street. In the last, lived Goldsmids, Montefiores and Samudas. The list of subscribers to the sumptuous set of David Levi's Festival Prayers (Second Edition, 1807) shows that only thirty-one out of four hundred London Subscribers lived outside the radius of a quarter of a mile from Duke's Place.

William Penn, in a letter to a friend, quoted in the History of Pennsylvania, thought the Red Indians of North America were descended from the Ten Tribes. "I found them", he wrote, "with a countenance of the Hebrew race: and their children of so lovely a resemblance to them that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Bury Street in London when he sees them." As the number of Jewish residents and their business increased in the nineteenth century, a distinct local progression is to be observed. The prosperous tradesman of Mansell Street goes to Highbury, from Highbury to Maida Vale, from Maida Vale to Bayswater, and thence to South Kensington and even to Belgravia and Mayfair.

At first, the poor Jews round Leman Street were mostly of Dutch origin, but shortly before the pogroms of 1880 and 1891 and for a generation afterwards, a huge influx of Russian and Polish refugees came to London, many of them on their way to America. They established themselves in Brick Lane and Commercial Street and, further East, round the London Hospital and in Stepney. A vivid autobiographical account of the fortunes of such immigrants is given in Lissack's *Jewish Perseverance*, published in 1851. Fifty years later *The Jews in London*[156] was sympathetically described by C. Russell and H. S. Lewis in a volume with an introduction by Canon Barnett (famous for his East End work and Toynbee Hall) with a preface by Lord Bryce.

The Great War, with its increasing suspicion of foreigners, stopped, for a time, any such immigration, but, in their stead, Belgian refugees, in large numbers, were given hospitality in London during the War, and many, though free to return home, have stayed behind. The Jews of their number were largely of Russian origin and mostly from Antwerp.

Since this century began, there has been a strong tendency to encourage a centrifugal movement of the working classes from the congested districts in the City, or immediately adjoining it, towards the suburbs. Most of the poorer Jews live in or close to "Petticoat Lane," or Middlesex Street, as it is now less picturesquely called. Zangwill's word picture brings it home to us. "The Sunday fair, so long associated with Petticoat Lane, is dying hard, and is still vigorous: its glories were in full swing on the dull, gray morning when Moses Ansell took his way through the Ghetto. It was near eleven o'clock, and the throng was thickening momently. The vendors cried their wares in stentorian tones, and the babble of the buyers was like the confused roar of a stormy sea. The dead walls and hoardings were placarded with bills from which the life of the inhabitants could be constructed. Many were in Yiddish, the most shamelessly corrupt and hybrid jargon ever evolved. Even when the language was English, the letters were Hebrew. Whitechapel Public Meeting, Board School, Sermon, Police and other modern banalities, glared at the passer-by in the sacred guise of the tongue associated with miracles and prophecies, palm trees and cedars and seraphs, lions and shepherds and harpists."[157]

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[156] London, Fisher Unwin, 1901.

On the London Stock Exchange, Jews were particularly prominent during the nineteenth century. There is an illustration showing a "fourwheeler" cab, driven and filled by Louis Cohen and Sons, one of the chief Jewish firms. The driver, Louis Cohen, was a cousin of Sir Moses Montefiore and of Baron Lionel de Rothschild. His two sons inside the cab were both members of Parliament—Lionel Cohen, a founder of the United Synagogue, and Sir Benjamin Cohen Bart. Nathaniel Cohen, who is on the top of the cab, was the father of Sir Robert Waley Cohen, K.B.E., a manager of the Shell Transport and Trading

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[157] "Children of the Ghetto," Vol. I.

Company Limited, which is the chief competitor of the Standard Oil Trust.

East End Jews, with their conservative tendencies and clannishness, have rather resisted attempts at dislodgment, but still they have been affected, as can be shown by the increase of the Jewish population in Stamford Hill, N.E. and Brixton, S.W. and Tottenham, N., where large synagogues have lately been erected.

Tottenham is specially interesting, because of the cabinet-makers there, who have added another handicraft to those of clothier, bootmaker, furrier and cigar and cigarette maker which were considered characteristically Jewish.

Curiously enough, alongside of such sedentary employments, the London Jews have always taken a prominent part in the sporting world as pugilists. In the 18th century, Mendoza was one of the most prominent boxers of the day. An existing caricature suggests that even Jewesses learnt the noble art from their brothers. "Wonderland" in the Whitechapel High Street has for many years been a school for fists, and the recent victory of Kid Lewis, the champion welter boxer over Basham, reproduces the triumph of Mendoza. In the University of Cambridge, the 1920 Boxing "Blue" was Samuel Levy Simpson.

Boys' Clubs and Boys' Brigades have been encouraged by the Community as a means of fostering the athletic development of the young Jew. They have undoubtedly been of great benefit in improving stamina and morale. The gallant response of London

Jews to the call of arms during the Great War is in no small measure due to these movements. In February 1921 the London Battalion of the Jewish Lads Brigade won the Cadet Boxing Championship for the whole of Great Britain, and they were accordingly presented by the Prince of Wales, Colonel in Chief of the Cadet movement, with his Shield. The J. L. B. also hold the Sir Charles Wakefield Shield for Physical Training for cadets of the City of London.

The more prosperous members of the Community were such as had gone out to the Colonies and returned home laden with wealth. The Jews were always pioneers in colonization. Thus, Benjamin Levy figures in the Calendar of State Papers in connection with New Jersey in 1702.[158] India is represented by Mark Hamburger in 1714 and continuously, since then, and notably by the Sassoons, who have been friends of Royalty for the last fifty years. The West Indies, and especially Jamaica and Barbadoes, account for the leading families of Lucas, Henriques, Brandon and Schloss; Australia, in the nineteenth century, for Cohens and Levys; South Africa for Barnatos and Lewis and Marks.

Many successful London Jews have not scrupled to disguise their origin, ever since 1760, by changing their name, at first by Act of Parliament or Royal Licence, but latterly by deed poll and advertisement, or even by mere user. During the last Great War, however, a stop has been put upon such changes of name of persons not actually born in England.

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[158] American West Indies (1912), pp. 340, 483.

Phillimore and Fry's Index to Changes of Name[159] enables one to cull a curious list of names of Jewish interest. But the tendency is not always towards the "Aryan Heresy". And although "Jankele" in the Whitechapel Road may become "John Kelly", there is a case on record of a man, whose friendship the author is proud to own, who reconverted his name from Kelly to "Kadoorie".

Till the first quarter of the eighteenth century the London Jews were not familiar with the English vernacular. They affected the "Ladino" (Spanish) or "Yiddish" dialects. The *Askamot* or Laws and Regulations of Bevis Marks were published in 1785, 1819 and 1813 in Portuguese, but not in English till 1858. The *Tekanot* of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place, were published in Hebrew and Yiddish in 1761, 1771, 1791, 1808 and 1810. But the 1827 edition was in English on one side and pure Hebrew on the other. The preface explains that "The members of the present community being, in a great proportion, natives of this country, it has become essential that the whole code should be revised and recomposed in a vernacular tongue, while at the same time a pure Hebrew translation should accompany the publication, that it may be understood by such foreigners, who at present belong to the Congregation or who may join it hereafter."

The translations of the Hebrew prayer-book for the use of the London Jews illustrate this slow anglicization. The earliest into English was that of "Gamaliel ben Pedahzur", a pseudonym for Abraham

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[159] London, 1905.

Mears.[160] This was published in 1736, when the communal leaders refused to sanction a translation. A generation later, sanction was still withheld and Isaac Pinto had to publish his, the second translation, not in London but in New York, in 1766. The first authorized English prayer-book only appeared in 1769. This was the *Tephilloth* translated by Meyers and Alexander (London, Tooke, 5530). It is valuable as it contains a list of the subscribers' names, though not their addresses. Several Christians figure in the list. Spanish translations were published in London earlier and notably by the *Haham* David Nieto in 1705, and by his son Isaac in 1740.

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[160] See Gentleman's Magazine for 1756, p. 468.

CHAPTER XXIX

COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION

At the present time there can still be observed traces of the cleavage of the London Jews into two sections, the old inhabitants, who had been in England for a few generations, and the Ashkenazic new-comers, from Holland, Germany and Poland. The old inhabitants consist of a few families descended from the Marrano merchants of Stuart times. These have but two synagogues, at Bevis Marks and Lauderdale Road, W., and their numbers are comparatively unimportant. Expansion has been prevented by the effect of assimilation in two directions. Increasing prosperity and their admission on terms of equality into the ranks of the non-Jewish aristocracy have lost to Judaism such families as the Disraelis and Samudas, the Lopes and the Ricardos. On the other hand, the proud isolation of those men who, boasting of their Castilian blood, kept themselves aloof from all intermarriage with Ashkenazim, has lost much of its force and energy. Sir Moses Montefiore, himself a Sefardi, who had married an Ashkenazi, protested throughout his long life against this aloofness as stupid and unjustified. Though a conservative of the old type, he saw no justification for it and, when his will was published in 1885, it was found that though most of his relatives were Portuguese, he had left the bulk of his fortune to charities in which German and Portuguese Jews were to participate on almost equal terms. He had left special legacies for granting marriage portions in cases where Portuguese married Polish Jews; and the nephew, Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore, on whom he settled East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, and his residuary estate, was one who, like himself, had married a Cohen of Dutch origin. Intermarriages between what were such very distinct sections, almost sects, in the 18th century, have now become so frequent that the assimilation of Portuguese and German Jews has made rapid progress. At the present moment, the Portuguese Jews of London (formerly led by two eminent preachers and scholars, Dr. Artom and Dr. Gaster) are without a *Haham* and, on high questions of religious policy, will look to the Chief Rabbi for guidance.

The most recent new-comers, "greeners" as they are called, have generally arrived from Poland, Russia and Roumania. These came over in large numbers to England after the pogroms of 1880, 1891, and 1900, many of them on their way to the United States and South Africa. Perhaps two millions merely passed through England, but ten per cent at least have remained behind, most of them in London and, of these, most in the East End of London. They still talk Yiddish, as their fathers did in Eastern Europe, and the walls of the East End of London, and even in Soho, W.C., by their placards in Hebrew letters, cater for them. Their children, however, through the excellent schooling they receive in the Jewish denominational schools and the London County Council Schools, rapidly become anglicized and some of them can hardly understand their own parents.

The London Jew, like his non-Jewish neighbor, is fond of attending public worship. On a rough estimate, it may be said that for every three hundred families there is a synagogue provided with an average seating accommodation of two hundred. These synagogues for the most part belong to two groups. First comes the United Synagogue, established on the 14th of July 1870 by 33 and 34 Vict. Ch. CXVI, the "Act for Confirming a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the Jewish United Synagogues".

A great step towards the union which ultimately led to the establishment of this important institution was a treaty made in 1834 between the Great, the Hambro, and the New Synagogues for the discharge in common of various religious and charitable communal duties, the cost of which was borne as to one half by the Great and one quarter by each of the other two synagogues. Each synagogue was precluded from letting seats to each other's members. Difficulties arose when branch synagogues were founded outside the City and when members lived too far away to attend regularly. In 1866 Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler, at a breakfast in his Tabernacle, urged upon the wardens of the City synagogues the desirability of uniting their congregations under one management. Delegates were appointed by these and by the Bayswater Synagogue. They held various meetings and ultimately submitted a scheme to their members, which was passed and approved and adopted by the Charity Commissioners. A Declaration of Trust, with reference to the maintenance of the Chief Rabbi and the Ecclesiastical Board and to his control of religious administration, eliminated from the scheme as unsuitable for parliamentary legislation, was embodied at the first meeting of the Council elected under the Act. The United Synagogue Council accordingly now administers the constituent synagogues, their endowments and trusts, it attends to the visitation of hospitals, prisons, reformatories, workhouses, and lunatic asylums, controls marriages and burials, and votes subventions to Jews' College, religion classes, and the Jewish Board of Guardians. Lionel Cohen, M. P., had been the most active of the founders of the United Synagogue, but Sir Anthony de Rothschild was its first President. On his death in 1876, Mr. Sampson Lucas became President and was himself succeeded in 1879 by the first Lord Rothschild, who retained office until his death in 1913. He was followed by his brother Leopold, and on Leopold's death by his nephew Lionel. At its foundation in 1870 there were but five constituent synagogues. In 1881 there were ten, and now there are seventeen constituent synagogues which are full members of the Union, and six associated synagogues.

Next in importance to the United Synagogue comes the Federation, with fifty-four minor synagogues and *Hebrahs*. The Federation was founded by the first Lord Swaythling (then Sir Samuel Montagu) as a counterpoise to the United Synagogue under the presidency of the first Lord Rothschild. Its members were almost exclusively East End Jews. The United Synagogue comprises West End Jews and City Jews, but also numbers of the foreign element, especially Germans in the North of London and Russians in the East End, Soho, Brixton and Stamford Hill. There is also one Synagogue in Upper Berkeley Street belonging to the Reform secession of 1842. The Reformers, however, did not increase as they hoped and have become what would be regarded nowadays as moderately conservative.

Claude Goldsmid Montefiore, a highly cultured philanthropist, descended from Goldsmids, Montefiores and Rothschilds, combines in himself the Reformer, the Portuguese and the German Jew. To his late mother's generosity is due the publication of Singer's *Daily Prayer Book*, giving the Orthodox liturgy, with an excellent English translation. Of this over 200,000 copies have been published, with fourteen English editions and several authorized and unauthorized American reprints in 30 years. But her son's inclination is towards a form of radical Judaism, approximating in some respects to Unitarianism. To his influence and enthusiasm is due the foundation of the Liberal Jewish Synagogue in 1910. This departure has met with outspoken condemnation on the part of the conservative element in British Jewry. Of this movement, the late Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler was, not unnaturally, a stern opponent. "A New Judaism", he argued, "was being proclaimed, with many essentials of Judaism left out or whittled down almost to vanishing point. With a stroke of the pen the Divine authority of the Pentateuch and of the prophets and the authority of every teacher in Israel was denied.....The purpose which actuated the founders of the new faith was no doubt praiseworthy, to prevent Jews by birth from drifting away from Judaism. But what was the method they employed? They enunciated a new Judaism, which constituted a breach with the past, a Judaism with essentials of faith and practice omitted. Wherein did the movement differ from Unitarianism and from Theistic and Ethical churches? In lieu of reclaiming the drifters, were they not promoting assimilation and encouraging disloyalty?.....Why would they cut themselves off from communion with their brethren by seeking to form a new sect? Ought they not rather to fight in unison against the common enemy —materialism, love of mammon, the reluctance to make sacrifice?"[161]

There are, in addition to those of the United Synagogue and Federation, 21 London synagogues for Ashkenazim. The most important of these are the Western Synagogue, founded perhaps in 1768, but not later than 1797, and the Adath Israel Synagogue in Green Lanes, N. It is not without significance that in 1910 and the following year Conferences[162] of Anglo-Jewish Ministers were held under the auspices of the Chief Rabbi H. Adler at Jews' College, to review the orthodox position and strengthen its defences.

The ecclesiastical organization of the Community is under the Chief Rabbi, the Very Revd. Dr. Joseph H. Hertz, with a *Bet Din* or Ecclesiastical Court over which he presides, with the assistance of five assessors:—three *Dayyanim* and two assistant *Dayyanim.*

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[161] Report of a Sermon in the Daily Telegraph of 28th October, 1909.

[162] See Proceedings of the Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers (London Jewish Chronicle Office, 1910) and Proceedings of the Second Conference, etc. (ib. 1911).

The *Shehitah* Board, founded in 1804, looks after the supply of *Kasher* meat for Jews in the Metropolis.

There are fifteen Jewish Cemeteries, of which three are disused. The oldest, in Mile End, was opened in 1667, and that at Alderney Road was opened in 1749 and closed in 1852. That at Willesden is the most important one still in use. At Golders' Green, W. are those of the Portuguese, Reform and Liberal Jews.

CHAPTER XXX

SCHOOLS; CHARITIES; LITERARY SOCIETIES; CLUBS; ZIONIST FEDERATION AND SOCIETIES; FRIENDLY SOCIETIES; NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

The Jewish school children receiving organized religious instruction in London were in 1890 about ten thousand. They now exceed twenty thousand. Of these over seven thousand are educated in denominational schools and six thousand at classes maintained by the Jewish Religious Education Board at twenty-two County Council Schools. Of the remainder, half are taught at Congregational classes, in connection with 29 synagogues, and half in eleven Talmud Torah classes.

Of the denominational schools the most important is the Jews' Free School, Bell Lane, Spitalfields, founded in 1817 for boys and girls, with close on three thousand pupils, and believed to be the largest school in Great Britain.

A striking picture of the little "Children of the Ghetto", in process of conversion into true born Londoners, is presented by Israel Zangwill, himself a pupil and afterwards a teacher at the Free School. A visitor to the East End shortly before Passover hears the familiar clang of the School Bell. "It was the bell of the great Ghetto school, summoning its pupils from the reeking courts and alleys, from the garrets and the cellars, calling them to come and be Anglicized. And they came in a great struggling procession recruited from every lane and by-way; big children and little children; boys in blackening corduroy, and girls in washed out cotton; tidy children and ragged children; children in great shapeless boots gaping at the toes; sickly children and sturdy children and diseased children; bright-eyed children and hollow-eyed children; quaint sallow foreign-looking children; and fresh colored English-looking children; with great pumpkin heads, with oval heads, with pear-shaped heads, with old men's faces, with cherubs' faces, with monkeys' faces; cold and famished children and warm and well-fed children; children conning their lessons and children romping carelessly; the demure and the anaemic, the boisterous and the black-guardy; the insolent, the idiotic, the vicious, the intelligent, the exemplary, the dull,—spawn of all countries—all hastening at the inexorable clang of the big school-bell to be ground in the same, great, blind, inexorable governmental machine. Here, too, was a miniature fair, the path being lined by itinerant temptations. There was brisk traffic in toffy and gray peas and monkey-nuts, and the crowd was swollen by anxious parents, seeing tiny or truant offspring safe within the school gates. The women were bare-headed or be-shawled, with infants at their breasts and little ones toddling at their sides, the men were greasy, and musty, and squalid. Here a bright earnest little girl held her vagrant big brother by the hand, not to let go till she had seen him in the bosom of his class-mates. There a sullen wild-eyed mite in petticoats was being dragged along, screaming, towards distasteful durance. It was a drab picture—the bleak leaden sky above, the sloppy, miry stones below, the frowsy mothers and fathers, the motley children."

Next in importance to the Jews' Free School comes the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum, West Norwood, founded in 1795, which boards and educates 350 boys and girls. The Jews' Infants Schools, Commercial Street, were founded in 1841, and the Stepney Jewish Schools, which now have 650 pupils, in 1863. The Westminster Jews' Free School has close on 500 boys and girls and was founded in 1811. The Spanish and Portuguese School, "Gates of Hope," was established in 1664, but educates only a hundred boys; the Villareal School, founded in 1730, has 324 girls; and the National and Infant School, founded in 1839 has 315 pupils.

Of the Metropolitan charities and benevolent societies the oldest are almshouses, of which those of the Portuguese were founded in 1703. These incorporate the Pacifico, Barrow and Montefiore endowments. The Ashkenazim have four sets of almshouses, of which the oldest were founded by Lyon Moses in 1838.

The most important charity is the "Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor", founded in 1859, which distributes about £40,000 per annum, £6000 in casual help, £16,000 in fixed weekly allowances, £5,000 in temporary allowances, £4,000 in medical assistance and care of consumptives, £4,000 on a Seaside Convalescent Home and £1,600 on Homes for Delicate Children in the country. In addition, over £20,000 was, in 1920, granted, by way of loans, to demobilized soldiers and reduced tradesmen on easy terms of repayment. The Board has sixteen committees and three Aid Societies in the East End, North London and West Central districts.

In addition, there are no less than sixty-eight other metropolitan Jewish Charities providing for the Aged Needy, the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, Incurables, Hospitals, Soup Kitchen, Bread, Meat and Coal Charity and Grocery Relief Fund, Maternity, District Nursing and Sick Room Helps. Characteristically Jewish are the "Sabbath Meals Society," the "Marriage Portions Society", and—one of the earliest—the "Initiation Society", which was founded in "the forty five". In a different category is the "Jews' Temporary Shelter", established in 1885, after the first pogrom. This institution helps immigrants on their way through London and was, during the war, actively concerned in looking after war refugees.

The Provincial Ministers' Fund and the Keeling Jewish Clergy Endowment Fund are London institutions for augmenting the stipends of Jewish ministers in Great Britain or Ireland, especially in the poorer congregations, outside London, Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham.

As a "Jewish War Memorial," a fund has recently been collected, under the energetic drive of Chief Rabbi Hertz and Sir Robert Waley Cohen, for the purpose of organizing and, if possible, endowing religious education and increasing the salaries of ministers and teachers, and assisting Jews' College in their training.

There are twenty-four literary societies, of which the most important are the Jewish Historical Society of England founded in 1893 and the Union of Jewish Literary Societies founded in 1902. The former was the outcome of a very successful Anglo-Jewish Exhibition held at the Albert Hall in 1887. Its transactions and special volumes, some issued jointly with the Selden Society, are of outstanding merit. The latter publishes *The Jewish Literary Annual* and from time to time volumes of lectures.

There are twenty-five clubs and athletic societies, of which the Jewish Lads' Brigade is the most important and the Maccabeans the most interesting. The latter was founded in 1891 as an association of Jewish professional men and others, whose aim is social intercourse and co-operation among its members, with a view to the promotion of the interests of the Jewish race. It has made a speciality of literary, artistic, scientific and legal dinners, at which Jews and non-Jews have emulated each others' oratorical powers. These friendly gatherings have done much to stimulate and maintain the friendly relations of Jew and Christian, in which, for a century and more, London has been pre-eminent. Its President is now Lord Rothschild, F.R.S., a Trustee of the British Museum. Most of the literary coterie of Jewish London are members. Among those who are no longer with us were:—

(1) Dr. Israel Abrahams, founder and editor of the Jewish Quarterly Review, a brilliant essayist and lecturer.

(2) Joseph Jacobs, historian and folklorist and editor of the Jewish Encyclopedia.

(3) Arthur Cohen, Q. C., Privy Councillor and Jurist, who was one of the Counsel for England in the Alabama Arbitration.

(4) Asher Myers, for many years editor of the Jewish Chronicle, a fascinating personality, not a public speaker, but of remarkable influence in his generation.

(5) Sir Isidore Spielman, engineer, art-critic and organizer of international exhibitions, who started the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition at the Albert Hall of 1887 and thereby founded the Jewish Historical Society of England with a membership which now exceeds six hundred.

(6) Professor S. Schechter, a profound rabbinic scholar with a delightful English style, who brought the Cairo *Genizah* to Cambridge, but left England for New York, where for the last years of a very full life he presided over the Jewish Theological Seminary.

(7) Israel Zangwill, novelist, poet and dramatist, who founded the Jewish Territorial Organization ("ITO"). He dissolved it, when Zionism had made its promising start in Palestine.

Zangwill was anticipated by the *Chovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion) associations in Europe and the United States. They were persons, who from 1879 onwards, sought to promote the agricultural settlement of Jews in Palestine, especially for the benefit of fugitives from persecution in Roumania and Russia. The "Chovevei Zion Association of England" was founded by Colonel A. E. Goldsmid, father-in-law of the second Lord Swaythling. Its constitution was settled by Arthur Cohen Q.C. and the first object specified therein was "to foster the national idea in Israel." Its results were rather disappointing, although a mass meeting, held in London in 1892, was enthusiastically supported. This resolved to petition the Sultan, through Lord Rothschild and the British Foreign Office, for the right of settlement. But the late Baron de Hirsch and his grandiose scheme of colonization in the Argentine Republic deflected much effort from the East to the West, and the *Chovevei Zion* movement became more or less apathetic.

Apart from the War Memorial, the youngest of all the Jewish Institutions of London, but the most vigorous and most promising, is the English Zionist Federation presided over by Dr. Chaim Weitzman, with two councils, six committees and 25 constituent societies in London alone. Weitzman is the fortunate successor of Dr. Herzl, who in 1896 founded and established the Zionism of today.

The Jewish National Fund Commission for England, the Ancient Order of Maccabeans, the Sinai League, the Mizrahi and the Agudat Israel should also be mentioned in this connection. They are all enthusiastically supported by young Israel, though the wealthier members of the Community, even those who called themselves "Lovers of Zion", remain singularly deaf to the call of latter day Zionism. The Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund concerns itself with the promotion of building societies in Jerusalem and has done much to beautify that city with neat clusters of small dwellings.

The B'nai B'rith is a fraternal organization, which is an offshoot of that founded in New York in 1843. It has of late years grown to a considerable membership and exercises considerable influence for good, especially among young men and women.

There are numerous Friendly and Benevolent Societies, of which the most important have combined to form the United Jewish Friendly Societies. To this Union seven large Orders and twenty eight independent Societies are affiliated. The "Grand Order of Israel" has its Grand Central Lodge in Houndsditch and 38 Lodges elsewhere in the Metropolis. The "Ancient Order of Foresters" has six Courts in London and the "Grand Order of Sons of Jacob" has 17 Lodges, the Order "Achai Emeth", 23 Lodges, the "Achai Brith", 47 Lodges, the Order of Ancient Maccabeans", 5 Beacons and the "Order of the Shield of David" (formerly called "The Hebrew Order of Druids"), a Grand Lodge and 26 Lodges in London.

Most of these societies have Lodges, Orders, Beacons in the provinces also. One of them has even branches in Palestine, where the Ancient Order of Maccabeans has established Beacons in Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa and Safed. With the increased power of democracy and the higher education of Labor, there can be no doubt that the Friendly and Benefit Societies will acquire ever widening opportunities to influence communal life and thought in London, and they already have powerful representation on all the elective bodies of the Jewish Community.

There are many newspapers in London which cater for the Jewish public. The earliest was the *Hebrew Intelligencer*, which appeared in 1823. The *Jewish Chronicle*, with the largest circulation and influence, first appeared in 1841, the *Jewish World* in 1873 and the *Jewish Guardian* in 1919. These are issued weekly. There are several Hebrew and Yiddish papers, of which the *Jewish Times* appears daily. Many other papers were published in the nineteenth century, but perished after a more or less precarious existence. Such were the *Voice of Jacob* (1841–1848), The *Jewish Standard* (1888–1891), in which Zangwill earned some of his first laurels as "Marshallik", *Jewish Society* (1889), started on the death of Nathan Adler, with a view of opposing "Adlerism" and preventing the election of his son Hermann as his successor, the *Anglo Jewish Magazine* (1848), The *Arbeiterfreund* (Yiddish) (1886–1891), *Haasif* (*Hebrew*) (1847–49), The *Bevis Marks Gazette* (1886), *Darkest Russia* (1881), edited by Sir I. Spielmann, the *Hebrew National* (1867), *Israel* (afterwards *Young Israel*) (1887–1891), *Jerusalem* (1882), the *Jewish Literary Annual* (1903....), the *Jewish Record* (1868–1871), the *Jewish Sabbath Journal* (1855), the *Jews' College Journal* (1896), *Londoner Israelit* (1878), *Londoner Yiddish Deutsche Zeitung* (1867), *Northwick College Times* (1873), *Palestine* (1890), the organ of the *Chovevei Zion*, *Pipifox* (1901), a Yiddish humorous paper, *Purim* (1883), and *Zukunft* (1884).

In addition to these, the following magazines appeared, but are no longer in existence. The *Hebrew Review and Magazine for Rabbinical Literature* (1834–35), the *Hebrew Review and Magazine for Jewish Literature* (*Hameassef*) (1859–60), and the *Jewish Review* (1910–1914). The *Jewish Quarterly Review* appeared from 1888 to 1908 under the joint editorship of Claude Montefiore and Israel Abrahams. Its twenty volumes are notable for clear and learned contributions by the most eminent Jewish and non-Jewish Hebraists and theologians. Happily its activities have been continued in America, under the able editorship of Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of Dropsie College. Nearly as many volumes of the new series have already appeared in Philadelphia.

London Jews have played a very important part in the general journalistic activities of the Metropolis. *The Daily Telegraph* more particularly owes its great power to the labors of its proprietor, Lawson Levy, the first Lord Burnham. As proprietors, editors and reporters, the Jews have more than held their own. But Jewish influence in the London press has been very considerably exaggerated. What success they have achieved in this field, they have gained as men of letters or men of business, but not as Jews, and it would be out of place to enlarge thereon in a sketch of London Jewry.

CHAPTER XXXI

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

THE co-operation of English and French Jews in the Damascus affair of 1840, when the Jewish quarter was sacked, and Montefiore, Cremieux and Munk went to Constantinople and Alexandria to intervene for their oppressed co-religionists, marked a turning point in Jewish history. It was the first time that western Jews had worked together for the protection of Jewish interests all over the world. Twenty years later, the forced abduction and baptism of Mortara in Rome led, in 1860, to the establishment at Paris of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. And when the position of this international body was threatened by the Franco-Prussian War, it was deemed advisable to found in London the Anglo-Jewish Association to carry on the work. This Association, which had started as an English branch of the parent institution, has ever since 1871 maintained a separate existence, though the two have always preserved friendly and indeed intimate relations. Its successive presidents have been Jacob Waley (an eminent conveyancer), Baron H. de Worms (afterwards Lord Pirbright), Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart. M.P., Claude G. Montefiore, Osmond d'Avigdor Goldsmid and Leonard Montefiore. The Association is a chief shareholder in the Jewish Colonization Association, generally known as I.C.A. This Association is a London Limited Company endowed by Baron M. de Hirsch with many millions, which it spends on Jewish colonies in Argentine, Brazil, Canada, Russia and Palestine.

The "Jewish Board of Deputies" was founded in 1746 to watch the interests of the Jews of Great Britain and Ireland. Originally composed only of 'Deputies of the Portuguese Nation', it now consists of representatives of various metropolitan, provincial and colonial synagogues and institutions. It may be taken to be fairly representative of the Jewish community of the British Empire, and a considerable number of Jews resident in England are now members of its constituent bodies. Among its presidents have been Sir Moses Montefiore, his nephew J. M. Montefiore, Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore, Arthur Cohen, Q.C.,D.L., Alexander K.C., Sir Stuart Samuel Bart., H.S.Q., Henriques K. C., and now Osmond d'Avigdor Goldsmid. The Board is concerned, inter alia, with the protection of the local rights of its constituents in respect to such matters as marriages, Sabbath observance, etc. But, especially in Sir Moses's time, it never failed in case of emergency to invite and beg the intervention of the British Government, when foreign Jews were being flagrantly persecuted.

The Anglo-Jewish Association interests itself in the welfare and more particularly the education of oppressed and helpless Jews all over the world. Its aims are "to aid in promoting the social, moral and intellectual progress of the Jew", and "to obtain protection for those who may suffer in consequence of being Jews." Accordingly, when any grave case of persecution arose, the Anglo-Jewish Association, like the Board of Deputies, sought the intervention of the British Government. This produced a certain amount of overlapping; and after the year 1886 the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association appointed a 'Conjoint' committee of both bodies to deal with the Government in such cases. Its meetings were presided over alternately by the presidents of its constituents, and its political secretary has for some years been Mr. Lucien Wolf. This Conjoint Committee was composed of leading English Jews, and its relations with the English Government were highly satisfactory. The Foreign Office never turned a deaf ear to its representations. Jews gratefully acknowledged that the English Government could always be relied upon to bring its powerful influence to bear in obviating and often preventing the suffering of Jewish victims of persecution. The Conjoint was in close touch with similar Jewish committees abroad, especially the American Jewish Committee. Their labors were attended with considerable success, and before the War they had almost persuaded the Governments of Russia and Roumania to relax their anti-Semitic legislation and administration.

When the Great World War broke out, in 1914, everything was altered. The persecuting governments of Russia and Roumania became friends of England, and the little country of Palestine a most important factor in the war policy of the Allies. To Zionists and non-Zionists alike the future of that country had become a matter of vital interest. On

October 1st, 1916, the Conjoint Committee submitted to the British Government a formula to secure the Jewish population of Palestine in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, facilities for emigration and colonization and some municipal privileges in the Jewish Colonies.

Meantime the leading Zionists had entered into lengthy negotiations with the British War Cabinet and attempts were not wanting to bring the Conjoint Committee into line with them. But its formula fell short of the Basle programme and no agreement could be arrived at. The Conjoint Committee, through its then two Presidents, David Alexander, K. C., and Claude Montefiore, published in the *Times* of the 24th of May, 1917 their views as to Jewish resettlement and their objections to the nationalist policy of the Zionists. That statement raised a storm of protest in the Jewish community, especially in London, such as far exceeded even the excitement produced in 1840 by the Reform secession from the Orthodox Synagogues.

It was pointed out that the statement represented neither the views of the majority of Jews or non-Jews nor even of the constituent assemblies which the Conjoint Committee represented. The Board of Deputies denounced its treaty with the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Conjoint Committee came to an end. After considerable discussion, its place was taken by a Joint Committee, with a mandate to represent its constituents on all matters except Palestine, but in November 1918 that embargo was removed.

Mr. Arthur Balfour (now Earl Balfour) on the 2nd of November, 1917, on behalf of the British Government and with the cordial approval of President Wilson, published the famous Declaration that "His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object." And this Declaration has been followed by the conferment of the Mandate for Palestine upon Great Britain by the Peace Congress. The first High Commissioner appointed to govern Palestine under this Mandate was a London Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel, G. C. B.

Under ordinary circumstances it would not have been in conformity with practice to bring down to so recent a date a historical review of the Jewish community of London, but the unparallelled enthusiasm with which Balfour's declaration was received by the Jews all over the world, and even in enemy countries, has focussed attention upon that community and thus provides a fitting climax for a not ignoble story.

We have seen the community progress through various stages. We find under the Norman and Plantagenet Kings a body of traders in money regarded as chattels of the King, trading collectively under the leadership of a half spiritual, half financial head known as the Arch-presbyter.

Under the Tudors we see a few scholars and refugees from the Inquisition taking refuge in the English Metropolis, where after the Reformation they were regarded as, at any rate, less objectionable than Papists. We see them during the Commonwealth and the Restoration tacitly allowed to establish themselves in the City and playing no unworthy part in the expansion of England. We see them permitted to meet for worship in their private houses and afterwards in synagogues avowedly established for Jewish public worship. We see synagogue after synagogue established, each with its own organization, but gradually tending to unite their forces under a single ecclesiastical head. We see the Spanish and Portuguese Community, after its proud beginnings, losing importance through the desertion of valued members, and becoming rapidly outnumbered and rendered comparatively unimportant, through an overwhelming influx of Ashkenazim from Holland and Central Europe. It still preserves its independence, but its members are now only a tiny fraction of the total Jewish community of the Metropolis and its two synagogues are without a spiritual head.

We see how the Ashkenazim of London started with a single synagogue under the leadership of the Rabbi of Duke's Place and then of two other synagogues, then of the *Rav* of "London and the *Medinah*" (the Provinces) and how they are now under the spiritual guidance of the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire.

It is not to be wondered at that this London community has expanded with the expansion of England, and that, for the first time in its long record, it had been found fit and proper that the London Chief Rabbi of to-day, Dr. Joseph Hertz, should in 1921 make a pastoral tour through the various overseas communities, of which he is the spiritual head. And indeed it is a sign of the times that such Chief Rabbi should have been himself trained in the United States and have held office in South Africa.

But, of all the tests of progress of the London Jew in the course of a thousand years, his most striking justification is the fact that hardly half a century after his political emancipation, he has been privileged to occupy, to the general satisfaction, such high offices as those of Ministers of the Crown, Ambassadors, Lord Chief Justice, Colonial Governors and even Viceroy of India.

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CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS
OF
ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY

15	Emperor Augustus issues Edict in favor of Jews and mentions those of Britain.
ca. 380	St. Jerome (340–420) writes of the Diaspora "even in Britain."
740	Egbright, Archbishop of York, forbids Christians to take meals with Jews.
before 775	Venerable Bede a Hebraist: Alcwine another.
810	Jewish fugitives from persecution in Germany take refuge in England.
833	King Egbert confirms Croyland Abbey in possession of gifts from Christians and Jews.
before 940	King Athelstan has Bible translated into Anglo-Saxon from the original Hebrew with help of converted Jews.
1016	King Canute expels the Jews from England.
before 1065	Edward the Confessor's Laws place Jews under the King's protection.
1066	William the Conqueror, King, died 1087. Jews from Rouen brought over to England: settle in Winchester, etc.
1073	Jews settle in Oxford and Cambridge.
1086	References to Jewish landowners in Domesday Book.
1087	William II, killed 1100.
1090	He favors the Jews, orders a Religious Disputation and forces converts to return to Judaism.
1100	Henry I, died 1135.
1115	First mention of London Jewry.
1130	London Jews fined £2000.
1135	Stephen, King, died 1154.
1136	Fire in the Jewry of London.
1141	During Stephen's struggles with the Empress Maud, Oxford Jewry set on fire and Aaron fil Isaac and his house are burnt.
1144	The first Blood Accusation: William of Norwich's alleged Martyrdom.

1146 Rabbi Simon the Martyr murdered near Cologne, on his return from England.

1154 Henry II, died 1189.

1158 Ibn Ezra visits London.

Earliest entry in the Pipe Rolls about London Jews.

ca. 1160 German records tell of an English Jew giving up his half of a house in Cologne which he inherited from his grandfather Vives the Englishman.

1166 Aaron of Lincoln, chief Jewish financier, with Agents all over England, partner of R. Isaac fil R. Josce, the head of the London Community.

Many Entries in Pipe Rolls about London Jews.

1168 Deodatus Episcopus (R. Elhanan ben R. Isaac) perhaps Chief Rabbi and author of "Sod-ha-'Ibbur" and Synagogue Hymns.

First talliage of 5000 marks levied on the Jews.

1170 Josce of Gloucester finances Strongbow's invasion of Ireland and is fined.

1173 Aaron of Lincoln holds in pawn the plate of Lincoln Minster and the relics of Peterboro Cathedral. He claims that he made the window of St. Albans' Cathedral and prepared a home for the Saint! On his boasts, Freeman founds his charge of Jewish arrogance.

1176 First Hebrew *Shetar* on record.

1177 English Jews first allowed to bury their dead outside London.

Benedict of Norwich lends £880 and R. Isaac fil R. Josce £400 to the Abbey of St. Edmunds.

ca. 1180 The Laws of Edward the Confessor, promulgated or confirmed about this date, contain many Jewish ordinances, which mark the Jews as King's men and not owing fealty to the Barons.

April 1182 Jews exiled from France by King Philip Augustus: Isaac of Paris, Judah of Paris and Solomon of Paris come over to England: The last lends money to Malebys the ringleader in the York massacre.

1187 Aaron of Lincoln dies and Aaron's Exchequer formed to administer his possessions which escheated to the Crown.

1188 The Guildford Talliage: £10,000 exacted from the Jews for the purpose of the Crusade.

before 1189	Rabbenu Tam quotes Aaron of Canterbury in his “Minhat Jehudah.”
1189	Richard the First, died 1199.
	Early Jewish law suits.
4. Sept. 1189	Massacre of Jews on Richard's Coronation at Westminster Abbey.
	“The King's Ire against the slayers of the Jews,” chronicled by William of Newbury.
1189	First mention of the Justices of the Jews.
	Innocent III promulgates Laws of the Church against the Jews.
1190	John, King, dies 1216.
22. March 1190	Charter of Liberties to the Jews.
1192	Alleged Martyrdom of a boy at Winchester: Godelira of Canterbury penanced for entering a Jewish house to cure a Jewess's foot.
1194	Ordinances of the Jews: Jewry organized: All bonds given by Christians to Jews to be deposited in “Archae” or Chests in charge of two Christian and two Jewish chirographers.
	Northampton Donum of 5000 Marks: R. Samuel Nakdan of Bristol writes a Hebrew Grammar.
	Joseph Kimhi quotes R. Benjamin of Canterbury (or Cambridge). Berechiah Nakdan writes his Fables.
1195–7	Peter the Jew becomes a London landowner.
1199–1200	Exchequer of the Jews established.
1201	Renewal of Charter of the Jews: John in the second year of his reign grants a Charter of Liberties to Jews.
1201	Jacob of London Arch-presbyter.
1204	Maimonides dies. John protects the Jews of London.
1205	Edicts against coin clipping.
1209	Persecution and talliage of 66,000 Marks: Many Jews leave England.
1209	Josce of London appointed Arch-presbyter.
1210	John put all Jews under arrest, exacted 66,000 Marks (Bristol Talliage), and exiled all who did not pay minimum contribution. Many went into voluntary exile.
1215	London Jewry sacked by Barons. Magna Charta contained many clauses directed against the Jews, such as that no interest was to accrue on Jews' debts during heirs' minority.

1216 Henry III, died 1272.

1216 The Regent, Lord Pembroke, releases Jews from prison: some of the exiles returned and next year 24 burgesses in each town were nominated to protect the Jews from the violence of crusaders and others.

1218 Jews ordered to wear two tablets of white linen or parchment as a distinctive sign and on coming to England had to be enrolled by the Justice "ad custodiam judaeorum" and were not to leave their enclosure without licence.

1226 Talliage of 4,000 Marks.

1232 "Domus Conversorum" established (in place of one in Southwark founded in 1213) and a London Synagogue confiscated. In this year the great Grammarian and Commentator David Kimhi upheld Maimonides against the Spanish Rabbis.

1233 Talliage of 10,000 Marks.

1239 Aaron of York Arch-presbyter.

1241 Jewish "Parliament" at Worcester to assess and raise 10,000 Marks Talliage.

1242 Talmud burnt.

1244 Talliage of 60,000 Marks imposed. First blood accusation.

1245 Aaron relinquished office and Elias l'Eveske Arch-presbyter.

1249 St. Louis of France on beginning Crusade orders the expulsion of Jews from his Kingdom.

1250 Licence to excommunicate such Jews as fail to pay their promised subscriptions for the upkeep of their cemetery.

1250 and 1257 Records speak of a Jekuthiel son of the "Rab." He was probably son of the Arch-presbyter Josce and named after his grandfather. Henry III sells his Jews to his brother Richard. Elias protests vigorously against a talliage of 10,000 Marks.

1253 Tax: Oxford Canons reimposed: All Jews who did not "serve the King." All synagogues established after John's death to be closed. Jewish worshippers to subdue their voices.

1255 Talliage of 8,000 Marks imposed.

1256 Episode of Hugh of Lincoln,

1257 Elyas Arch-presbyter deposed for trespass against the King and King of Almain (Germany) and not to be priest again and the community to elect and present his successor to the King.

1258 His brother Hagin fil M. Moses Arch-presbyter. Baron's War begins.

1262 Jews assigned to Prince Edward who sublets them to the Cahorsins.

1264 The Jews feel the full force of the Barons' anti-Semitism. Archae frequently raided and Jewries sacked. Battle of Lewes: London Jewry sacked by the Barons.

1267 Riots: seal of Jews' Exchequer stolen: Nahmanides leaves Spain for Palestine. Talliage of 500 Marks. Jewry but the shadow of itself, but many Jews retained personal relations with King and Court.

1271 Commission to open the Archae and ascertain debts and property of Jews in Wilton, Marlboro, Oxford and 14 other towns.

1272 Edward I, King, died 1307. Chief London Synagogue confiscated.

1273 Expulsion of Jews from Winchelsea, because "it is contrary to custom to allow them to live where they have not lived of old."

1274 Statute "de Judaismo" i. e. the Statute of Jewry.

1275 Jews in Gascony, free of talliage, because of scarcity of corn and wine. Hagin's estates confiscated. Jews removed from the Dower Towns of the Queen Dowager.

1276 Commission against Usury and detaining Pledges and for money clipping.

1277 Commission as to observance of Statute of Jewry.

1278 Sir Henry de Winton a converted Jew not to be troubled for having bought clippings of coin. Jewesses ordered to wear badges. Commission to assess and levy talliage of Jews. Whole community placed under arrest.

1279 273 Jews executed for money clipping. Apostate converts punished. Jews charged with blaspheming faith and sacrament. Not to have Christian servants. Proclamation against concealing goods of convicted Jews.

1280	Sheriffs order Jews to attend sermons of Friar Preacher; Goods of converts half to them and half to "Domus Conversorum"—whole of the goods of convicted Jews after deodands go to "Domus."
1281	Hagin appointed Arch-presbyter for life at request of Queen Eleanor. The Writ enforcing Jewesses to wear badges was confirmed and they were forbidden to sell meat to Christians.
1282	Other London Synagogues suppressed.
1285	Expulsion of Jews from Windsor, because they used not to live there.
1287	Jews imprisoned.
1291	Jewry expelled from England.
1307	Pope Clement V establishes Jewish Chairs at Oxford, etc.
1309	Safe conduct to sundry Jews to return to England.
1330	Twenty-one Jews in the "Domus Conversorum."
1358	Joseph ha-Sefardi's date of final expulsion of Jews from England.
1390	Paul of Burgos visits London.
1409	Master Sampson summoned to London by Dick Whittington.
1468	Edward Brampton, or Brandon, afterwards Governor of Guernsey, converted.
1525	Hebrew type first used in England.
1530	Henry VIII consults Jews about his divorce from Catherine of Arragon.
1542–3	Privy Council cases about Portuguese Jews imprisoned in London.
1571–3	Lists of Aliens in London include Jews.
1578	Nathanael Menda baptized at Allhallows Church, Lombard Street.
1591	Queen Elizabeth befriends Jewish refugees.
1592–6	36 performances of Marlowe's Jew of Malta recorded.
1594	Dr. Rodrigo Lopez hanged, drawn and quartered at the Tower of London.
before 1598	Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice.
1613	Lady Elizabeth Carew's Tragedie of Mariam, the "Faire Queene of Jewry."
1642	Queen Henrietta Maria, Wife of Charles I, visits the Amsterdam Synagogue and is greeted by Manasseh ben Israel.

1650 "Hope of Israel" published by Manasseh ben Israel.
1653 Samuel Herring petitions Parliament to call Jews to the Commonwealth.
1655 Whitehall Conference, held before Cromwell as to resettlement of Jews in England.
1656 Robles' Case. Marranos openly profess Judaism and Cromwell protects them.
1658–9 City Merchants and Thomas Violet apply for expulsion of Jews. Report of The Wandering Jew at Stamford.
1660 Charles II protects them.
1664 Sasportas appointed Haham.
1666 First Jewish Charity Bikkur Holim founded.
1670 Joshua Silva appointed Haham.
1673 Proceedings against Jews under Conventicle Act stopped.
1676 Another Portuguese Synagogue erected.
1677 Court of Aldermen forbid the settlement in London of indigent Jews.
1680 Eve Cohan case, and popular anti-Semitism in London. Unsuccessful application to Privy Council to establish a Ghetto. Jacob Abendana, Haham.
1685 James II protects Jews.
1689 Solomon Ayalon appointed Haham.
1690 Special tax on Jews, alien dues imposed on Jewish merchants and denizens. Ashkenazi Community founded and Judah ben Ephraim Cohen appointed Rabbi, a kinsman of Benjamin Levy.
1697 Number of London Brokers limited to 12, i. e. 12% of total.
1701 David Nieto, Haham.
1702 New Portuguese Synagogue opened in Bevis Marks. Act of Parliament enforcing Jews to provide for their Protestant Children.
1704 Hambro Shool sought to be established by Ashkenazi seceders. The Wardens of Bevis Marks and Great Synagogues succeed in persuading the Corporation of the City to forbid the establishment of a third Synagogue.
1718 Attorney General decides that English born Jews can own land.
1721 Hamburger builds the Hambro Shool in the

gardens of his house in Magpy Alley. The Corporation restrains him but he goes on building.

1722 Aaron Hart (Uri Phaibush), brother of the rich Moses Hart, Benjamin Levy's partner, becomes Rabbi: The Great Synagogue, Duke's Place is opened; its Wardens, Moses Hart, Lazarus Simon and Isaac and Abraham Franks.

1726 Hambro Synagogue officially opened.

1730 Villa Real School founded.

1732 Jews' Free School founded as a *Talmud Torah.*

1733 Isaac Nieto appointed Haham.

1738 Book of Religion Ceremonies and Prayers of the Jews by Gamaliel ben Pedahzur (Abraham Mears, perhaps a converted Jew?) son of Sampson Mears, one of the founders of the Hambro Shool.

1739 Naturalization Act for settlers in His Majesty's Colonies in America.

1741 Moses Gomez de Mesquita appointed Haham.

1745 Initiation Society — first Ashkenazi Charity founded. Sampson Gideon finances Government in "the 45."

1746 Committee of Diligence, afterwards Board of Deputies, appointed to watch Jewish interests.

1752 Union of the three congregations to prevent unauthorized conversions to Judaism.

1753 Jewish Naturalization Act passed and leading to popular riots is in the same year repealed. Jewish marriages legalized.

1754 Attempt to repeal Colonial Naturalization Act of 1740 so far as Jews were concerned.

1756 R. Aaron Hart dies.

1757 Hart Lyon (Hirsch Löbel Lewin) appointed Chief Rabbi, resigned in 1763.

1760 Board of Deputies officially founded.

1761 New Synagogue built.

1761–1784 Moses Cohen d'Azevedo appointed Haham.

1762 Gentleman's Magazine XXXII, p. 418, gives "An extraordinary Narrative of a Cabalist, concerning Magic and Mystery," referring to Falk.

1765–1792 David (Tebele) Schiff appointed Chief Rabbi, died 1791.

1765 "Jew Apologist" Revival of the Jew Bill.

1768–1771 Ezra Stiles' friend, Raphael Carrigal of Hebron visits London.

1771 Jewish immigration restricted.

1772 Dispute between Sefardim and City.

13. Dec. 1776 Solemn Fast Day services at the Synagogues for success of His Majesty's Arms on the Rebellion of the Colonies in America.

1777 Synagogue resists the imposition of Church Rates. Haida (Hayim David Azulai) visits London.

1779 *Meshibat Nefesh* founded.

1783 Isaac v. Gompertz decides that gifts for Jewish Charities are valid (7 Ves. 61).

1792 Anti-alien legislation.

1794 The three Ashkenazi Synagogues join for relief of the Jewish poor. D'aguilar v. D'aguilar, the first Anglo-Jewish divorce (1 Hagg Cos. Rep., 776).

1797 Western Synagogue opened in the Haymarket—the first outside the City.

1798 Goldsmid v. Bromer left the decision of validity of a Jewish Marriage to the *Bet Din* (1 Hagg Co. Rep. 324).

1802 R. Solomon Herschel appointed Chief Rabbi, died 1842.

1806 Great Synagogue, Duke's Place, opened.

1807 Jews' Hospital, Mile End, opened.

1808 R. Raphael Meldola appointed Haham, died 1828.

1811 The three Royal Dukes visit the Great Synagogue.

1817 Jews' Free School, Bell Lane, opened.

1818 Israel v. Simmons decides that Synagogue is a lawful establishment and seatholders liable to pay rent for their seats (Starkie Nisi Prius Reports, II 356).

1826 Maiden Lane Synagogue opened.

1831 Jews admitted as Freemen of London.

1835 Sheriff David Salomons elected Alderman for Aldgate Ward.

Frederick Goldsmid first Jew called to the Bar.

1836 Bill for Removal of Civil Disabilities of the Jews passed by the House of Commons but rejected by the Lords.

1837 Sheriff Moses Montefiore knighted, made a Baronet in 1846, after seven pilgrimages to the Holy Land, died a centenarian in 1885.

1841 Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid created first Jewish Baronet. "Jewish Chronicle" the first London Jewish newspaper.

1844 Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler elected Chief Rabbi, installed in 1845 and died in 1890.

1851 David Salomons elected M. P. for Greenwich, takes his seat without taking the Oath and is fined £500.

1855 Jews' College established in Finsbury Square.

1856 Sir David Salomons first Jewish Lord Mayor of London.

1858 Jewish Oath Bill passed by Parliament permitting Jews to sit. Baron Lionel de Rothschild the first Jewish M. P., after having been twice elected by the City of London as their member and not allowed to take his seat.

1859 Jewish Board of Guardians established.

1865 Sir Benjamin Phillips, Lord Mayor.

1866 Dr. Benjamin Artom elected Haham, died 1879.

1870 United Synagogue founded by Act of Parliament.

1871 Anglo-Jewish Association established.

1879 Hodgson v. Halford decides that testator may forfeit a beneficiary's share on marrying a Christian or becoming converted (L. R. H. C. D. 959).

1881 Prince of Wales (Edward VII) attends the Central Synagogue at the Wedding of Leopold de Rothschild.

1885 Nathaniel Mayer Lord Rothschild created the first Jewish peer, died 1915.

1888 Dr. Moses Gaster elected Haham.

Federation of Synagogues established by Samuel Montague (afterwards Lord Swaythling).

Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition at Albert Hall.

1890 Great Public Meeting at the Guildhall to protest against the persecution of Russian Jews.

1891 *Chovevei Zion* Association founded for Colonization of Palestine.

1891 Dr. Hermann Adler appointed Chief Rabbi, died 1911.

1892 Jewish Colonization Association ("Ica") founded by Baron Maurice de Hirsch, who died 1896.

1893 Sir Julian Goldsmid Bart., M. P., made Deputy Chairman of Committees of the House of Commons.
1897 Sir George Faudel Phillips Lord Mayor.
1899 English Zionist Federation founded.
1902 Jewish Religious Union founded by Claude Goldsmid Montefiore.
1903 Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, offers territory in Uganda to the Zionists.
1905 Seventh Zionist Congress declines Uganda offer.
1906 Jewish Exhibition in Whitechapel.
1910 Herbert Samuel Becomes Postmaster General—the first Jewish Cabinet Minister.
1913 Dr. Joseph Hertz elected Chief Rabbi.
Sir Rufus Isaacs appointed Lord Chief Justice.
1917 Edwin Montagu appointed Secretary of State for India.
1917 On 2nd of November Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government, promises to facilitate "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."
1918 The Earl of Reading (Rufus Isaacs) appointed Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the United States.
1920 The Mandate for Palestine given to Great Britain and Sir Herbert Samuel, G. C. B., appointed High Commissioner. Dr. Hertz makes a pastoral tour to the Colonial Congregations.
1921 Lord Reading appointed Viceroy of India.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Page 93, note 102.

Oldenburg's commonplace book at the Royal Society contains a draft of a letter dated 1657 written by him to Manasseh ben Israel, whose acquaintance he made in London. The letter covers a French translation of an Italian book called *Resuscitorri Matutini* as to the promised return of the Jews to Palestine.

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